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A REVIEW

OF

BARODA AFFAIRS IN 1871.

BY

DINSHAH ARDESHIR TALE-YARKHAN,

LATE OF THE "GUJERAT MITRA."

31379

Vincit Omnia Veritas.

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THE QUESTION I have somewhat elaborately discussed here partakes of the character of those which, from various causes, are totally neglected, or, what is perhaps worse, very inequitably and inadequately represented. If the dishonest impertinence of some, who would like to hear as little as possible of what I have to say, would disregard and depreciate my endeavour, I doubt not there are many more readers whose approbation and sympathy I may safely calculate upon. I am hardly required to say that this work is not intended for those who have no capacity for any great mental strain. The unprejudiced and honest, both officials and non-officials, who may be expected to honor me with an attentive perusal, will, moreover, admit that the space at my command was not sufficient to make my work more comprehensive and more perfect than I have been able to make it, both as regards the past and present history of the Principality and the British Political Residency attached thereto.

I have in these pages entered into a thorough scrutiny of the conduct and policy of the British representatives at Baroda, which have so long and unceasingly succeeded in deceiving those whose prestige, as a great moral and material Power, has been immeasurably lowered. The difficulty of presenting a convincing *exposé* of the policy cannot possibly be underrated. It is at once attributable to an extremely weak and utterly indefensible policy being based on spurious dogmas, interspersed with particles of truth, and at first sight evincing merits prone to delude the public into acquiescence. Being stript of its misleading apparels, the reality presented us cannot fail to startle us, and excite such feelings as those of detestation and intolerance. It would be a different thing were the policy to be as honorably avowed as it, as a matter of fact, has been pursued—which we may however as justly expect of the British authorities now placed before the bar of public

opinion, as we may expect any vendor of false wares to give honest warning to his customers. The depth of the contemptibility and banefulness of the heritage left by Sir Robert Wallace, and all along self-complacently adopted, cannot be properly imagined, unless we recall, as a sort of collation, the confiscatory policy of Lord Dalhousie. Far less heinous was this Dalhousian regime which, although in a certain sense deserving the condemnation of the present and future generations, was sharp and decisive, whether respecting the fate of millions or respecting any other collateral question. The Baroda policy ostensibly professes to hold in sacred regard the so-called independence of the Native State or its internal affairs, whilst, in reality, there is nothing else so remarkable that it does as its silent and sure—it may be unconscious—ministering to the desperate elements, which are just eating up the Native Royalty, perpetuating enormous public wrongs, and rendering millions more and more miserable for an indefinite period. In brief, it is against a policy so clandestine, so deceptive, and so unworthy as this, that I earnestly invite the energetic co-operation of my respected brethren in the Native and European Press.

Bombay, September 1871

A REVIEW

OF

THE BARODA AFFAIRS IN 1871.

ALL those who are well informed and are neither corrupt nor indifferent, fully admit that there is scarcely any other Native State in India which is scandalized and degenerated with so many evil elements as the very largest State in the Bombay Presidency is known to be. It is also a patent fact that, amidst the almost primitive chaos of the Baroda administration, and amidst the most horrid inequities and all manner of extravagance, ruin, and stagnation, the British Representatives at that Court have, since a long series of years, almost invariably proved themselves contemptible neuters. To set upon denouncing thus persons belonging to a class of people who have grown to be the benefactors of the country, is one of the most unpleasant tasks; but such have been their torpitude and the gravity of their other faults, and the consequent general mischief and degradation, that to place them into any other light that is not the true light, would be sinful hypocrisy, or a connivance of, or participation in, the most unworthy views and deeds. And not an inconsiderable portion of European and Native sins at Baroda is traceable to the marked failure of the most influential journals in effecting the very requisite exposures. The failure is more deplorable in its results, since the specific turn of affairs in consequence of the death of His Highness Khunderao and the succession of his brother Mulharrao. The responsibility of the Bombay Government and the Political Residency, rather than that of the Press, should be here discussed, and discussed not with the hesitation, morbidness, or

partiality of a time-serving party spirit, but in a spirit which would honestly and fearlessly distinguish between the interests of millions and those of a reputed knot of indifferentists and self-aggrandizers.

Sufficient time may be said to have elapsed to ascertain pretty tolerably the line of policy adopted, or sought to be adopted, by the political authorities, as also the direction that the new Rajah and his councillors have themselves been able to give to the State affairs, since the death of the late Guicowar. We have also now placed before us the latest Residency Report and the Government Resolution thereon, the main importance of which, it need not be observed, is in relation to what has taken place, and what should have taken place, since the demise of Khunderao. The insufficiency, uncertainty, or misdirection of the energy of the Press can scarcely be more glaring than in this instance. Not a tithe of the significance given to comparatively unimportant questions has been given to the Baroda question, and the Report and Resolution, which should have invited the closest and most anxious discussion, have been consigned to obscurity, at best with comments scarce and feeble.

Reflecting upon the course of matters since the change in the *Gadi*, and reflecting thus as a disinterested party, we can come to no other conclusion than that a hundred opportunities of reforming the State have been, or are being, deliberately thrown away by Government, under the guidance of an inefficient and misleading Residency. In spite of all the perversities and vitiated bents of the late Rajah, and despite he was led by avaricious, intriguing and sensual scoundrels, the very aggravation and complication of these evils ever continued to provide room for the exercise of abuse-grappling and reforming faculties. But if the British representatives did anything remarkable, there was very little besides the observance and perpetuation of culpable passivity, shielded with excuses which were incontrovertibly of a transparent and deceptive character.

But even these disgraceful excuses were removed with

the death of Khunderao. The State, then, may be safely stated as having virtually fallen into the hands of the British Government. The reins of the whole administration were held by a small band of persons who were virtually the inveterate foes of the people, and for whom none beyond their debased circles could have a word of sympathy or approval. The most elementary management of a single administrative question, out of several hundreds, was quite undreamt of by them, or scorned with the viciousness of degraded savages. The idea of concerting the welfare of the subjects or the State was only eminently ridiculous to them. Their one great idea was to amass money by defrauding the State or looting the subjects; and, in order to obtain full success to this motive, to strive for the favor and patronage of the Chief by all sorts of the most debased means,—to pamper and encourage his vile propensities,—and to persecute, dishonor, and ruin all those who came in the way. They were, in short, a set of human vultures, who took the State and its various resources as one rich carcase, to be fully and speedily devoured. But they were also, of course, the vultures which awaited the firing of shots, to lessen their voraciousness and to give rest to the carcase. Some of them, indeed, flew away when their King was gone, and their places were filled by equally villanous creatures.

The successor of the King came in the person of one who was expected to possess but slight capacity of vanquishing or neutralizing them. He could not even boast of the barbaric development of his predecessor's administrative genius. His natural intelligence and discerning and acting powers were of course of an ordinary character. His mental and bodily capacities were considerably affected by the endurement of a long imprisonment. Shut up within four walls, he was closed to all expansion of mind and energy. Both his mind and intellect were fully enfeebled, being long and hopelessly plunged in the inmost depths of misery. He had failed to effect his liberation, notwithstanding his most desperate efforts, and

hence could have hoped for deliverance only in death. In this well nigh completely shattered and dejected condition, he was apprised of the fact that the author of his misfortunes and of the ruin and humiliation of the State, was himself summoned away from the scene, and that the long imprisoned Mulharrao was now required on the throne. The feeling and emotions that this unexpected news created in the mind of Mulharrao cannot be pretended to be described. It was quite a miraculous escape and a miraculous transformation of fate. It was almost parallel to picking up a grovelling person in a street, and ordering him to rule over the destinies of millions. Mulharrao's most agreeable conviction since his liberation has been this—if he was not slowly tortured into death, if he was not slain or murdered in cold blood, it was all owing to the presence and intercession of the English Government, to whom he repeatedly and cheerfully asserts he ought to be grateful all his life-time.

Before we undertake to review what the English Government has done, and allowed to be done, after the late Guicowar's death, it is necessary that we should have clearly before our mind what was the position of Government in relation to this State, as also how it was situated, and what were the antecedents and prospects of Mulharrao whom Government permitted to succeed to the *Gadi*. The foregoing observations have helped us to form a definite opinion in regard to these questions. In the first place, here was a giant State, under the guardianship of the Paramount Power, which was—if it was turned to any account—plundered, corrupted, and rendered barbarous by an irresponsible satanic set of people. In the next place, the Paramount Power was able to send such a person to the throne who had providentially incurred their eternal obligation—the removal of whose sufferings and the succession of whom as a Rajah so much depended on their will and good graces. He was also a person who, both on account of the inferiority of his temper and peculiarity of his circumstances, was expected to bow with every unaffected willingness and alacrity to the

advice and even behests of Government. Did Government then discharge its sacred and emergent function? And what have been the fruits of their aid and influence that may have been exercised for the past seven months?

It would not for a moment be pretended that the Bombay Government did not fully appreciate the rare and excellent opportunity which Providence placed in their hands, or was not aware of the imperative changes and constructions which, without loss of time, they were urgently called upon to fasten on the attention of Mulharrao. As they can undoubtedly be supposed to have had a full conception of what they had to do, the results that have been published by Government are the only, and probably the safest, means wherewith to judge of the conduct of Government and their representatives.

For, anything approaching a full and conscientious statement of the views and measures of these great parties we have never been encouraged to expect. The most provoking, the most unwarrantable secresy has been observed for years past as regards affairs vitally affecting the interests of the Baroda people and the reputation of Government and their Political Officers. The convenient and abuse-perpetuating conventionality of keeping political matters under profound secresy, is still left undisturbed, as if the universally desired disclosures, if made, would subvert a Government, or damage the interests of the people. One of the noblest things for Sir Seymour Fitzgerald to do before he leaves this country would be to give a death-blow to this highly disreputable and immoral policy, which has for many years given cover to loathsome inaction and indifference, and even to much graver delinquencies. The keeping up of the present system is not only dishonorable to Government, but it also deprives them of that continuous practical enlightenment which would not only remove many a grave suspicion, and considerably add to their credit and utility, but redress some of the most heinous wrongs under which about two millions of people have been indefinitely suffering. When anything like a full and judicious publicity is invariably denied, or exceptionally

resorted to, it is the fault of none but of Government and their subordinates, if the public happen to labor under any misunderstanding, or to form unjust notions about them in any particular instance. If there was no reason to fear that there was no weakness which any amount of natural publicity would expose to the public, then this duty would not likely be neglected. But the fact is, it is not possible to venture upon any honest publicity, lest the almost uninterrupted disgrace and inefficiency would be liable to be exposed more effectually. It is high time to put to the earnest consideration of Sir Seymour and his Honorable colleagues, whether this long-standing, persistently maintained reproach should be occasionally dealt with in milk-and-water fashion, or be courageously grappled with and uprooted.

If additional evidence is required in support of this representation, the latest Residency Report published in the Bombay daily journals last month fully supplies this evidence. Agitated as the public mind is with the reflections of an actual revolution that the State has been undergoing since the change in its ruler, the Report strikes us as nothing else than being a specious and miserable apology for wrongs and evils, and on the whole a wretched, meagre trash. Colonel Barr has certainly not failed to render it in accord with the spirit and worth of its predecessors. What it pretends to do is nothing more than giving us some dry news—the principal portion of which being quite insipid and stale—and persuading us to believe that the Resident has done all he could to reform the State, and that further reform was impossible, nay dangerous! the Government, who do not much wish to disturb the supine equanimity of the Resident, remarking this explanation to be not quite satisfactory. The Report is not only contemptible as a political document of any merit, but is, on the very face of it, misleading and deceptive, which an analysis of it amply proves.

Evils were at work in such an aggravated and desperate form that a complete overthrow, or a special motive to induce the overthrow, of the main force that kept up those

evils had become a subject of almost sickly demands. What suddenly happened exceeded even the expectations of the most zealous reformers of the State. The death of Khunderao of itself created a natural opening for the most essential or elementary systems of reform. The alteration in every principal position and circumstance in relation to all parties was such as to quicken the heart of the most sluggish official. It is necessary to ascertain the sort of appreciation, or any appreciation, awarded to the event which offered materials for a corrective and noble revolution. The heart of the British representative at the Baroda Court does not seem to have thus moved, or if it did move, it moved without any adequate result. This is apparent from the state of mind in which he frames one of the gravest political documents, and from the impressions imparted to a well-informed critic by the tenor of this document. The succession, the ministerial change, the achievement of certain more or less supposed reforms, were likely held, or affected to be held, as less important, than to enlighten us with the numbers of the Guicowar's different forces, or with the facts that this or that boundary dispute was settled. So we have all the former matters treated of at the fag end of the Report. And they are treated of in much the same manner as a news-writer would write down the news he had gathered. It was the profound ignorance, the foolish enthusiasm of the public, that led them to believe that anything had happened to induce reversals in Colonel Barr's attitude and policy. What difference could the death of Khunderao make ? He who was taken to be a head-strong character and an irreconcileable barbarian, who was no way indebted to the British Government for his power or riches, was indeed gone. But that made no difference. His own brother was living to come out of the prison, and instantly fill up his place without the least fuss or difficulty. All that had warranted the political authorities not to intercede in the matter of Mulharrao's imprisonment during Khunderao's life-time did now as suddenly and as surely vanish as the life of Khunderao. Mulharrao ! you will

now rejoice to learn that we hold thee no longer a prisoner. It is as well that we should now ungrudgingly cheer you to the throne. One with whom we lived on the best possible terms is no more. Take up his authority, and let the relations be continued as before. We do not touch the Durbar, we give it to you as it was. You are also at liberty to make full use of your own party. You are left in free and undisputed possession of all the wealth and property of the State. You will now see that from a pining beggar we have made you an all-powerful, opulent King. Prize well the best grace we can show you. The joy of Mulharrao—who would have only a moment ago submitted to any restrictions or conditions only if simple liberty were granted him—now of course knew no bounds, when all kingly power and influence, uncontrolled for all practical purposes, were showered on him. It was not the business of the Resident in any sense to enter into the least reflection whether anything was due to the British Government or to two millions of people, when the rarest gift was made to one who was hopelessly wasting away his life in prison, or what would be the consequences of leaving unaided this once extremely depressed and uninitiated King, surrounded with the vilest and most dangerous associations? It is quite apparent, and it is not even assumed by the Resident, that there was at this great juncture a single man at the Durbar capable enough to restrain Mulharrao from being confounded, duped, and betrayed by illiterate, rascally, and hungry sycophants, and to save him from those fearful reactionary excesses which were quite plainly foreseen and positively declared.* Did the Resident conscientiously and anxiously estimate this position of affairs? None of the recent reports in the least evidence

*On the succession of Mulharrao the writer of this pamphlet addressed a public letter to a Bombay daily journal (*The Star of India*), which it is necessary to reproduce here, so that no doubt may be left on the mind of any one as to the extremely emergent duty which then fell to the lot of our Government :—

SIR,—As the first public writer who, with serious risks, effected the desired revelations about the late Guicowar and his Durbar, his "administration" in the city and in the districts, and the sort of policy and motives which actuated the Political Residency in its duty towards the deceased Khunderao and his principality; and also as the foremost writer who considered it essential to continue the agita-

that he was moved by any such anxiety. He never thought of telling us what property in cash, jewelry, etc., was taken into his charge, and subsequently delivered to Khunderao's successor; or whether Mulharrao was expressly and definitely warned of the abysses which had degraded and ruined both the State and the late Chief. We fail to find any traces of any such thing as the latter having been done, with the authority and earnestness which the emergency indisputably called for, first and foremost, as much in the interests of the people as in the interests of the new Rajah. It is not known for certain if it was at all in any degree done. Perhaps some such thing may have been done which might only be termed a formality, and

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tion for years, which in the end produced some substantial results, may I be permitted, through your columns, to bestow some thought on the most serious crisis at which the Baroda affairs have arrived since the death of Khunderao.

So execrable were the varied immoralities to which the Durbar was a victim—extravagance and extortions by the Guicowar directly, had assumed proportions so woful—the condition of the major portion of his traders and cultivators had been so miserable in consequence of the endless iniquity and oppression practised by his unscrupulous officials, and the influence of the Residency for good had, in a great measure, become so neutralized that, in the melancholy demise of the greatest native despot of the age, in the summary end of his brother's unjust sufferings, and in Mulharrao's expected ascension to the *gadi*, I may assert with all humility, that the hand of Providence is observable.

But for such salutary out-turns of the laws of nature, the intricacies or harmony of which are often so difficult or impossible to comprehend, there would be more wickedness and evil in the world. One of the mightiest rulers of the age has been as significantly removed from the throne to the prison, as the late Guicowar has ceased to exist, or Mulharrao has been rescued from the uttermost depths of despair and misery and rewarded with the fulfilment of his most anxious desires.

My inquiries and disclosures concerning Guicowary affairs commenced in 1864 and were continued until 1869. The republication of these articles may, I presume, prove useful now, when the impending revolution must either bring about a state of things considerably reformed or not very much better than it has been.

The mal-administration and degeneracy that had so fully spread into the whole kingdom must have been of a very aggravated nature, even for a native *raj*, to have warranted me in the indulgence of such reflections as follow, which I penned in my issue of the 25th November 1866, and which would seem striking after the events that have taken place in Baroda:—

"..... Until the country and the people are ruled by the present Rajah and his Durbaris, no change for the better can be expected. Still an enthusiastic expectation may be formed. That expectation is that Khunderao Maharaj has been so much overdoing, that God will not go on tolerating, *i. e.*, the law of nature must put an end to it. The dearest wish of the Rajah seems to be that the kingdom should be held by his own heirs. No wise man nor no good-hearted Englishman will wish that it would be well were the Guicowar's *raj* annexed by the British. But he may well wish that a better ruler than Khunderao may occupy the throne. Khunderao has not been able to do anything to ensure the *gadi* for his successors. Nor, probably, will he be able to do this. His tyranny must be only of a four hours' duration, and then he must be off from this world. During this period and after it, the English Government must direct their attention to the improvement of the wicked Durbar, and strengthen their influence for good. If God wills, Khunderao's successor will not be one whom he wishes, but his own brother may some day acquire the *gadi*. And

which might afford some momentary satisfaction. But it was as bad as if nothing was done. And, indeed, the whole tenor of the report is such as scarcely to make the reader imagine that any necessity had arisen to do anything. To Colonel Barr's mind, virtually, no revolutionary event has taken place. There is the same or the same sort of ruler, the same Durbar, the same Resident, the same moral and political relations, the same intrigues and corruption, the same public revilement of the Residency policy and the conduct of the Durbar, and the same grounds for defending and applauding them. It is this false posture of mind which the Colonel adopts before he undertakes to write the report, a duty which his conscience does not permit him to take up in any willing

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if by God's will the *raj* goes into Mulharrao's hands, he will conduct himself, not like his brother, but in consonance to the wishes of our good Government. It does not appear that Khunderao will leave good fame behind him..... May we hope that a time will come when Dada Saheb is enabled to express his gratitude to the English Government in the best possible way one can expect from him....."

The anticipations I was so sadly constrained to form four years ago are now realized, and the presence, at the present juncture, of his Excellency Sir Seymour Fitzgerald at Baroda, appears to me providential. If, on the termination of his Excellency's tour throughout Guzerat and Kattyawar, which province I had the honor to serve for the last eight years as the first public journalist, I could confidently infer any practical benefits having accrued to that province—as no doubt it will—these benefits would be trivial in comparison to what Sir Seymour can achieve at Baroda, or do in the way of laying the foundation for future achievement.

Although fully calculating the difficulties that would attend any attempt of our Government to actively interfere in the affairs of an independent native *raj* like that of the Guicowar, I can still humbly maintain on indisputable grounds, that the wisest policy now imperatively demands that His Highness Mulharrao should, within certain bounds, be actively guided by the most disinterested and practical advice that can be given to him by our Government.

What Baroda needs are honestly and maturely devised radical measures controlling the fountain source of its general administration. All circumstances seem to have conspired to render the present opportunity most favorable for carrying out this purpose. The strongest arguments of the party—if arguments they can at any time be termed—who are honestly or dishonestly opposed to any intermeddling in the Guicowar's politics, are at any rate now reduced to naught. We have now a Prince on the throne, who owes his present bliss, nay his very existence, to the humanity of our Government; and his natural desire must be only to respect and carry out the dictates or counsels of the English Government.

If His Excellency can be expected (as expect all will) to avail himself of the special and important advantages which his present visit to Baroda opens to him, His Excellency will undoubtedly not permit himself to be swayed by the artful representations directly or indirectly emanating from sources vitiated by varied corruptions and intrigues of so many years. Just now when His Highness' mind has not in any way been affected by designing persons, or by those interested in the perpetuation of the present state of affairs, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald can, with great success, fix upon and communicate to him his plans of reorganization which, whilst not in the least presuming to interfere with the rights that may be the particular desire of His Highness to exercise, might only aim at such results as, in meeting the benign intentions of his Excellency, would win the further gratification and gratitude of His Highness.

If I am not much mistaken in the nature of His Highness, he will listen to and act

spirit, as very shrewdly remarked by the leading contemporary of the *Times of India*. Mark how he opens his report:—

"These annual reports are necessarily of a very general character, because the position of the Resident precludes minute interference with the affairs of the Principality, and because it would be impossible for him to exercise such interference even if it were advisable or proper for him to do so, under existing relations between the Durbar and the British Government. He has no native establishment at his disposal through which minute inquiry into passing events can be made, and if he attempted himself to pry too curiously into details of administration, he would be much more likely to be misinformed than to be correctly instructed."

If the ruler whom British representatives of the stamp of Colonel Barr and Colonel Wallace have so much affected to respect and dread had not been dead, the main strain of this year's report would have been just the same as it is now. We—

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upon his Excellency's persuasions with cheerfulness, knowing, as he must be, how extremely indebted he is to our Government, in what a confused and degenerate form the whole affairs of the State have been left him by his brother, and, in case his hands are not strengthened with the effectual intervention of the English Government, how incapable he would find himself in endeavouring to contend against or remove the thousand and one abuses that have so completely degraded, and have so long marred the prospects of one of the most extensive, as well as one of the richest native kingdoms of the country.

I, as well as all those having at heart the cause of legitimate reform and the permanency of native states, may humbly hope that His Excellency will, during his stay at Baroda,—which it is also hoped will be sufficiently prolonged,—exercise his independent and sagacious spirit, in acquainting himself with the nature and causes of the misgovernment and ruin of the State, and will ensure the submission and affection of His Highness Mulharrao in the matter of the firm remedy that Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, aided by so talented and liberal members as the Hon'ble Mr. Mansfield or the Hon'ble Mr. Tucker, may be so justly and wisely allowed to administer. If the Durbar is to have a Prime Minister virtually of its own selection, justice should be done to the genuine wishes and future career of His Highness and to his numerous subjects, by the Government of Bombay deputing either one of their best native officials, or one of the best educated native gentlemen out of private circles who may be as public-spirited as he may be well trained and tempered by worldly experience, as a joint minister of the State. Not only is such an officer urgently necessary to counteract the very powerful opposite element, but the principal departments of the State also need to be similarly officered. In the adoption of some such method, no conscientious scruple on the part of the Residency will come in the way—if they can at all come in the way—since the present Resident is, I learn, shortly to proceed to Europe on furlough, which will afford Government an opportunity for selecting an officer who may be deemed as being in his proper place.

I am sorry I have no time left to make this letter more argumentative and exhaustive than I have been able to make it. Still, I may hope that you will kindly grant it an early insertion, and render a service to the Guicowary subjects by favoring my observations and proposals with your full and impartial consideration. —I am, Sir, yours obediently,

DINSHAH ARDESHIR TALE-YARKHAN,
Late Proprietor and Editor of the "Guzerat Mitra."

Upper Colaba, 6th January 1871.

incorrigible fools—should at the outset well ground this down in our mind that the present times and circumstances are none but those of the late Guicowar. The public may complain as much as they like, but they must expect no better reports than the vaguest possible ones. The grounds for the universal complaint that hardly any effective interference worthy of the name has been exercised, have been so numerous and so persistently urged, that I cannot affect to conceal that such interference can be 'advisedly and properly exercised.' But no one dares to show why there has been failure in this. Prying into hidden springs of actions and motives is abominable and is ever discouraged. You are at liberty to presume that my diplomacy has uniformly partaken of an extreme *laissez faire* character. Such accusations can be defended by an argument which is eternal and also mysterious and confounding. The Baroda property is not any way ours. Mind, its ruler is its absolute owner. Don't you prejudice your mind against him as being a native ruler. Turn blind to the changing or progressing phases of guardianship we come across in a natural course of things. Turn blind also to all the well-known characteristics of an untutored, weak, and fearing mind of a native ruler of the nature of a Guicowar. Consider, then, if any truth can be gathered from a study of dark and conflicting characters. If the Baroda report needs only simple justice, the question has to be reduced to this grossly partial and basely inexpedient and retrogressive view. And for the first time the public is sought to be edified with something like a full defence of the Residency policy and apologies for all that have transpired, and are in continuation, which, to cite the very words of the Resident, have helped to render the State "almost the best abused one in India." It is after several years' hard contentions that we have been thus gaining ground, howsoever gradually, over an agency which managed for many long years to remain the most imperturbable one in India. But the Resident at last seems to have made up his mind, and given us a string of excuses which are hardly able to

conceal their object, which is to advance arguments against reform and in vindication of the Guicowar's rule. The Resident has conceived how delicate and how hazardous this performance would be. Accordingly, the manner in which he has preferred at one time to speak in opposition to the Durbar, and at another in praise of it, more pointedly shows the broken reed on which he seeks to rely. He tells us in plain terms much that is condemnatory of the Durbar and the Guicowar. Never before the death of Khunderao was such a thing attempted. Unless the Resident would have us to receive this impression that matters are destined to remain much the same as they were during the late King's reign, the evils he has described with half heart would have been more creditably taken cognizance of whilst Khunderao was living.

The "existing relations between the Durbar and the British Government" "preclude minute interference with the affairs of the Principality." So says the gallant Colonel—the incarnation of all virtue and wisdom—in the opening para. above quoted. He has, as a matter of course, been doing all his work; he has concluded all his work for the time being. What remains being done, and is not possible to do, is "minute interference." And minute interference is not at all practicable. If it was only minute interference which we have been calling for since the past seven years, then Colonel Barr and his worthy predecessor and company deserve our best sympathy. But nothing can be more grossly untrue and misleading as has all along been made apparent. The Colonel speaks of serious misconception prevailing among the people as regards "our relations with this State" and of the "Guicowar's position in alliance with our Government." "A disposition," therefore, appears in them "to throw "upon us the responsibility of whatever shortcomings and "anomalies there may be in the administration." After all, it is deemed advisable to notice public opinion, which is even sought to be enlisted in sympathy with the administration. Since this regard has been evinced, and a result contrary to what it is now is expected, there is one true and natural

method to be first adopted—which is, to enlighten us fully about "the existing relations," on a complete and faithful conception of which the issue of the whole question we have undertaken to discuss here is dependent.

While "the existing relations" incapacitate the Resident from attempting any noteworthy interference, as can be gathered from his own observations, these existing relations cannot, at the same time, be of a nature to permit "material improvement" in the Baroda State, or its being "benefi-"cially affected by the influence and supervision disinterest-"edly exerted in its favor by the British Government through "their Resident." If, according to him, the subjects of the State are prosperous and contented, and by his advice and remonstrances he has done, and continues to do, all the possible good to the State, then it is superfluous for him to start the question of "existing relations," and to charge the public with ignorance of them. The question—what has the public been long since thinking about the management of the State and the conduct of the Residency—now admits of no discussion, the opposite side having fully admitted that public opinion has been strongly against them. Now we can hardly discover any case in which the universal opinion for years together was one of bitter denunciation of a certain object when the facts were quite contrary for the formation of public opinion. The necessity of palming off any specious vindication has been so unavoidable, that the Colonel would not mind venturing upon an inference so plainly anomalistical. As the Colonel is thus betrayed into inviting us to the question of "existing relations," he must be taken at his word, and must be again asked why the publication of these existing relations is yet unthought of.

Those who have ardently wished that the most legitimate exercise of British virtue should not be allowed to be degraded into inaction and morbid dishonorable toleration, and those who have clearly ascertained that things can surely be rescued at least from the last stages of degeneration, have been always allowed to incontestably main-

tain that such a class of Residents have been accredited to the Court at Baroda as have systematically observed the letter instead of the spirit of the treaties between that State and Government, and considered their best success and utility involved in remaining silent observers of whatever that took place in the Durbar, and in endeavouring to avoid giving every offence to the Chief and his courtiers. If the treaties have been respected both in letter and in spirit, if the noted never-ceasing weaknesses of the parties, who are safe against the consequences of their constant devilries on account of the full protection they enjoy of our Government, were availed of as means of reform, then nothing can be easier than to silence the hate and revilement to which the British representatives and others have been most pertinaciously subjected for the past seven years. Presuming the parties concerned are quite innocent, it is difficult to judge whether the revelation of any transaction between the Guicowar and the Government, affecting the principle of interference, would in the least be detrimental to any interest worth preservation. On the contrary, it seems only clear that had full light been admitted when it was needed, the Guicowar's death would have given us suitable opportunity of proposing any amendment, if deemed necessary, to render the Resident more active on behalf of humanity. There are indeed political secrets which should be inviolably kept as secrets, because they indisputably claim all conditions of secrecy. There are instances in which political secrecy should be necessarily tolerated, but there are also instances in which the Political Department, with certain encumbrances, is quite apt to make secret of things which not only do not call for any secrecy whatsoever, but court and demand full ventilation for very evident purposes. When the case of Baroda has always been conceived to have partaken of the latter character, and so not naturally treated, additional aggravation has been supplied to the calumnies afloat. Not only the vagueness but the inadaptability and ridiculousness of the plea of "existing relations" will be further-on apparent.

What is the drift of the first nine paras. devoted to a defence which the public has at last been able to wring out of a Residency noted for the most unhumanizing and shameless features of conservatism? The drift is the interweaving of more or less plausible excuses concerning the failure in a mass of contradictory, distracted and exaggerated statements.

With all the Resident's efforts to assure us that he has done all that was to be done in the way of reform, he has only done, and has understood as his duty to do, what he has himself considered it necessary to delineate in the following sentence :—

"It is his duty to watch that in essentials the administration is carried on to our satisfaction, that treaty obligations are respected, and that the power of the Guicowar is used in accordance with his alliance with the British Government."

And as regards reform of abuses and like things Colonel Barr immediately adds—"as the representative of the British Government he endeavours, &c., &c." Thus the Resident has given two different aspects to his function. The first he considers binding on him ; the next is held to have only a moral hold on him. The suggestion of this distinction may be probably intended for the inducement of a palliation for the neglect of what is held as a secondary function. It is not only an interested and inexpedient but grossly untrue view to present, or affect to present, that the function of devising and imposing discreet diplomatic checks to counteract abuses of the most extreme form, is less urgent than the management of tributes, or other almost stereotyped civil and military concerns in relation with the Guicowar's Government. The para. just quoted, though put into a sort of disjointed sense, serves indirectly to authoritatively establish the fact that beyond watching that "treaty obligations are respected," it is also his "duty" to see that "in essentials "the administration is carried on to our satisfaction, and that "the power of the Guicowar is used in accordance with his "alliance with the British Government." Whether this has been earnestly attempted, and if so, to what extent, will be

ascertained as we enter more into the heart of the chief details of administration.

The plea of "existing relations" being disposed of at such length as could come within the reach of the above comments, we now encounter the rest of the causes which the Colonel advances as rendering reform impossible. In the fourth para. he says:—

"He knows that the assertions of his own convictions, if they are not heartily concurred in by the Durbar, will only lead to the adoption of his measures in deference to his wish without any true desire to carry them zealously into effect. The end he aims at will, consequently, wholly or in great measure be frustrated. Progress will be apparent rather than real, and under the cloak of reform, much of the old evil will continue to exist, and in some instances be perhaps actually aggravated."

Colonel Barr here utters nothing that is unusual. It is one of the natural consequences of an attempt at reform. But it does not at all imply that one who, in any degree, acts upon the cause of reform should have himself virtually declared as ignominiously and incurably routed. No reform can be attempted without at the same time encountering more or less hard contests. He who shrinks from them from whatever cause is not the party fit to undertake any reform. Whether or no Colonel Barr is such will be more fully unfolded as we proceed. It is open to every one interested in such questions to offer what is very nearly an abstract justification. And abstract justifications are mainly employed when there is a motive to conceal the actual state of things, or where there is no inclination to illustrate the nature and extent of operations in behalf of reform. Merely mentioning that such and such convictions would be received by the Durbar so and so does not give us the least idea as to the number and character of instances in which this exceedingly willing and competent British representative applied or endeavoured to enforce his convictions. He has been sparing of candidness or straightforwardness in the above assertion as much as possible, but he cannot help feeling slightly uneasy for its condemnable indefiniteness; for he cannot at

once even say whether his convictions always brought about only the discouraging result he has described, but when in the directly following passage he uses the terms "also often conscious, &c., &c.," referring to another disadvantage under which the Resident has had to labor, he deals out some remote tinge of definiteness. As in every principal point it suits Colonel Barr only to leave us to grope in the dark, so in this matter he does not tell, as he ought naturally to tell, what was the nature of his convictions, and the manner adopted in their assertion that made them repugnant to the Durbar. The most carefully meditated patches of a totally or partly false defence cannot escape detection. The attempt to present plausibilities scarcely fails to arm the opposite side with that very truth which may have, howsoever strongly, been endeavoured to be suppressed. The fifth para. is then to be read in connection with the fourth :—

"He is also often conscious that with European ideas, and want of a full knowledge of the manners and customs of the people he wishes to benefit, he is unable to understand much that is prized and appreciated by them. He occasionally finds that measures he wishes to introduce are regarded as distasteful innovations, opposed to time-honored institutions—which he looks upon as abuses to be swept away, and that some of his schemes for progress are received as crotchets."

The pitiable ignorance to which Colonel Barr pleads guilty may likely be the cause of the non-success of his convictions, that is, if he had earnestly and systematically endeavoured to move the mind of the Durbar with any of his convictions. You cannot call anything a conviction, unless such a conviction is a correct inference drawn from an intimate knowledge of a given subject. As, according to the Resident himself, he cannot claim any such knowledge, his "convictions" were certainly not likely to prove efficacious. If he was incapable of forming proper convictions, he would be much less capable in the art of operating upon his convictions. When Colonel Barr refers to his knowledge of "the manners and customs of the people he wishes to benefit," it is not the people like those under the British rule that he refers to, as

the reader may be led to suppose from the way of Colonel Barr's expression. They are people to whom the first rudiments of an ordinary government are as yet to be applied. Colonel Barr would have us believe, as if it were, that such improvement was demanded as the people who already enjoy all the primary benefits of a well-conducted Government might demand. But it need not be told that all the territories under the direct rule of the Guicowar are continuously eaten up by a thorough system of unscrupulousness and anarchy. The causes of all this have been exposed and denounced for years together, and have been and are as plain as anything. The incessantly demanded elementary reform needed no such knowledge as the Resident says he lacks. If the ignorance indicated by him has applicability in some other sense, it gives us the most unfavorable idea as to the worth of the Resident. A public servant, who has been many years in the service of the country, in various responsible capacities, and who has all the time richly drawn upon its resources, to-day to come forward, and, without the least hesitation, declare that after all he knows but little about the people which would enable him to assist in the establishment of a proper system of Government, is either wilful impudence or gross incapacity, which is as discreditable to him as it is insulting and detrimental to the Government he serves. It is not an insignificant or ordinary situation in which Colonel Barr is placed; it is one in which he could avail himself of any number of opportunities to study and ascertain the inner aspects of human nature in this country. It is quite true that the longest possible residence of a European in this country is insufficient to give a full and unerring insight into the intricacies and apparent incompatibilities of character and temper of the people; but it is only want of integrity or competency or indolence, which would suggest that a tendency (which every European servant is bound to cultivate), to acquire every information that is possible to obtain in each case before any action is taken, or a resolve is made, would not render such conscientious and industrious official the best

possible one the people can expect. According to the experience and wisdom of this invaluable officer, however, the deduction should be quite the contrary. Spend the major portion of your working life until your hairs turn gray, as, we dare say, the venerable Colonel's are,—still for all that your only conclusion must be: we are unable "to understand what is prized and appreciated by the people." A poor-spirited, illiterate Hindoo, charged with the sovereignty of England, would not have spoken more despondingly. The irreparable wrongs that have been and are being committed alone prevent amusement which this statement, worthy of a profoundly ignorant, incapable sort of novice, would have otherwise created. If this is only what the Colonel can at last come to, after deriving the utmost possible personal benefits from the country, he might equally have well told all his stupid brethren not to waste their lives in a thankless labor, but to abandon the country at once. When an inefficient and even harmful functionary is continuously tolerated, while feeling his position quite secure, he is well induced to thrive upon all possible sort of shuffles and impudence. It is for Government to consider whether they can honestly permit the present Resident to remain where he is, particularly when opportunities have occurred for important experiments.

The Resident, in his anxiety to assure the public that he is not what he is taken to be, does not mind perpetrating inexcusable inconsistencies. What he in one place states as "often" taking place, he considerably modifies in another, by using the terms "occasionally" and "some." Here is the sentence in which they occur: "He occasionally finds that "measures he wishes to introduce are regarded as distaste-"ful innovations, opposed to time-honored institutions—which "he looks upon as abuses to be swept away, and that some "of his schemes for progress are received as crotchets." In apparent contradiction to what only a moment ago he wished us to believe, he says it is only *occasionally* that his measures are disliked and rejected, and it is only *some* of his schemes

for progress that are received as crotchets. That the *Guicowary* is not in any great measure capable of uncompromisingly resisting, refining and subduing elements, is established by the testimony of Colonel Barr himself. The evasiveness and unstraightforwardness of the evidence only helps us to elucidate the truth. To say that he was "often" conscious of this, and that "occasionally" happened some other thing, all inimical to reform, cannot fail to induce in us a positive sense of suspicion and of indefiniteness when unaccompanied by any desire to afford the indispensable illustration. But this much has of course been gathered from the dubious and unlawfully reserveful statements under notice, that the spirit of reform is in a very sensible measure capable of an advantageous struggle with all such abuses as have been quite open to abatement, owing, verily, to their over-growth. It is quite true that reforms of an uncompromising nature, and in all possible directions, are not possible; nor can every manner of urging reform be successful. Advancing any quantity of such abstract thoughts can but momentarily tend to obscure the long-known patent facts of the Residency having deliberately withheld and refused to recognise reforms which were as practicable as they were emergent, and which would have gradually yet firmly operated upon the very mainsprings of the most degraded forms of selfishness, absolutism, and other general depravities. This contemptuous mode of presuming to give us a correct conception of things not only tends to mystify facts as the aforesaid, but also tends to let us know the good that has happened to come into existence, just so much of it as is deemed convenient. Repeated pressures and exposures must affect the most obdurate of public individuals; but they would hardly do anything which would stultify or incriminate them finally. The retracement hence partakes of an exceedingly cautious and tardy character, and is permitted to be known only so far as may be calculated to produce general impression that the public condemnation was ill-founded, since all possible progress was being effected. We cannot help

quoting here a para. from the Report for 1869, which must stand in significant contrast to what the Resident has this year stated referring to his capacity and that of the treaties and existing relations to effect good :—

"It must be remembered, too, that this reform has been the result not of substituting our own rule for that of His Highness the Guicowar, but of supplementing and assisting the latter with our influence and advice for the introduction of a policy for administering the affairs of the district which met with His Highness' cordial assent at the commencement, and continues to receive his hearty approval from a conviction on his part, based on the good fruits he knows to have been produced ; that the policy is the best that can be pursued both as redounding to his own credit as Guicowar, and securing the happiness of his subjects and their respect for his Government."

It would not be here quite in consonance with our task to criticise any of the past reports, which were denounced by best-informed and truthful persons as grossly partial and superficial ; otherwise, we should have analysed the specious and exaggerating features of the above para. It is beyond our object to particularise the public indignation once roused in consequence of the base iniquities of the Guicowar, and the miserable passivity and inefficiency of the political authorities. Now that all this is a matter of the past, the Resident could be hardly noticed in his hard striving for approbation or eulogy which was the very height of shame and impudence to expect. The point to be drawn out of this allusion to a not quite adjacent question is ;—all difficulties connected with treaties, European ignorance, or the alleged independence and incombatible wrongheadedness of a Guicowar vanish when a subject of some real or supposed reform is somehow or other felt convenient. The most essential reforms have been denied to Baroda, because Government have been systematically sending there the most unfit class of Residents, wanting in all independence and in prudent and firm energy. It is the lack of such qualities in them that does not allow progress to assume a more effectual figure than "crotchets," or it is accepted only to be practically forsaken.

Colonel Barr proceeds to explain further the causes he assigns for his uselessness :—

"The chief difficulty the Resident at Baroda, in common with Residents at other similarly constituted native Courts, has to contend with, is the absence of energy and system, and the non-appreciation of the reciprocal duties between governors and the governed, which forms the main weakness of the administration."

Before we can assume the truthfulness of all this, it must be presumed that Baroda has had only conscientious and persevering Residents, which of course every one cannot but emphatically deny. Colonel Barr has said that 'the State of Baroda is the best abused one in India.' And very justly it is so. But it was not of course for him to tell that British representatives like himself and "Wally Kaka" (Sir Robert Wallace) have acted on the whole so unworthily as to have claimed the chief share in the attainment of this end. It has been ever easy to prove this. And it can be proved by the very statements of Colonel Barr. One of these statements we encounter in the above quoted para. :—"in common with Residents at other similarly constituted Native Courts." Now, it is well known that there scarcely can be found a single parallel in this country to the Baroda Residency and Durbar. In no other State does there prevail such an anarchy as at Baroda. In no other State are all people and public affairs at such a degenerate stand-still as is the case at Baroda. Many desirable improvements have taken place, and are being inaugurated in the most unmanageable of the States involved in many and varied complications and disorders. An allusion even to such self-evident facts is necessary on account of the cool impudence with which the Baroda Resident would have us assume that the Baroda affairs are only just as those of other Durbars, or that there are other Durbars and Residencies as bad as Baroda. Colonel Barr is both justified and expected to insinuate or attempt to produce this impression, in the sense that one, who is confronted with overwhelming evidence, sees only one way of escape, as he believes in the confusion of the moment, and that is by charging all

others about him with the same guilt that he is charged with! Equally ridiculous and hollow is the circumstance under which he declaims against the Durbar that it is innocent of all energy and system and appreciation of the reciprocal duties between governors and the governed. It cannot be expected of Colonel Barr that he would call things by their right names. It is something that he has had at last to admit, though in the mildest terms, that the whole administration is characterized by anarchy and extremes of general demoralization. And this is the very personage who, as in his previous reports, had so applauded the Guicowary administration as to induce the world to believe that the cries against it were unfounded, and that if there existed chaos or abuses, they were of an ordinary or trivial nature. The things now mildly denounced owe their origin to the rule of the late Khunderao, and have been of very long duration. How was it that the Resident lacked truth and independence in exposing them when the Guicowar was living? He for whom the discredit is chiefly intended is no more to hear of it and resent it. It is not just and honorable to defame, or unwittingly to procure the defamation of, the late Guicowar, who was allowed to have his own way in certain vital matters, under the false and miserable pretence of respecting his sovereign rights. It is not so important to know what is the "weakness of the administration"—to quote the weak and half-truthful phrase of the Resident—as it is important to know that this weakness was owing a great deal to what amounted to a positive misguidance of the British representatives. The grounds for this will be more fully apparent as we proceed.

We now come to the Resident's climax of causes which have contributed to the disgrace and ruin of Baroda:—

"It is further weakened by the selfish intrigues of courtiers who are prompt at every base means for self-aggrandisement, who are sure to oppose an able and trustworthy minister at the head of affairs, by poisoning the ear of the Guicowar with hints that the minister keeps him in leading strings, and is anxious only to make a good name for himself before the British Government, even at the expense of his master's dignity as ruler and the independence of the State."

Colonel Barr tells us not a jot what is new; he tells us, in a weak and partial manner, what we have known years since—what has been denounced on the basis of most startling, most scandalous facts. The more we proceed to inquire into the report, the more are we convinced of the extreme lateness and imbecility of his attempt to discharge a grave duty neglected for years together—and neglected during a period when its fulfilment was urgently called for, when Khunderao, who was to be affected by it, was living. It may be well presumed that, had Colonel Barr suspected that his statements would be subjected to honest and searching criticisms, such as those of some time past, and which for some time have been conspicuously absent, he could not have ventured upon advancing what he has considered to be skilful assertions, which he has tried to palm off upon the public, to save himself from the deep obloquy he has so justly incurred, at what he has thought to be a fortunate conjuncture. What is about said "an able and trustworthy Minister" is an outrage upon truth and common sense, and an outrageous excuse as well for the peculiarly constant and disgusting failure of the political authorities in securing for the Guicowar a decent sort of Minister. As this is a matter forming one of the specific and heaviest indictments against them, we reserve it until in the course of discussion it properly comes before us:

We now meet with about a dozen lines with reference to the working of the revenue and every other department of the State:—

"In the general departments of the State the management of affairs has been carried on under the system briefly described in my report for last year. The rates of assessment levied from cultivators has been the same as in that year. High as they undoubtedly must be considered, when contrasted with those levied in our own districts, yet very few cultivators are found to emigrate from Baroda territory, into which, on the other hand, cultivators from British and Talookdaree districts not unfrequently come."

"The system briefly described" last year was the faintest outline with which only those incapable of collecting a decent

amount of information, or those interested in affording to the public nothing more than an extremely superficial idea, can feel contented. Two or three or more lines were devoted to the description of each of the principal departments, which indeed acquaints us with the designations of the different officials of the Guicowar and a trifle more. The Resident has such a conscientious idea of rendering his general statements and details regarding the Chief and the immediate machinery of his government, that in addition to mentioning the different designations, he informs us with considerable pains that the administration has civil, criminal and police functions to perform; that the Guicowary officials award decrees and punishments; that ultimate appeals are heard by the Chief; and that the proceeds of State dues are received at the Rajah's treasury through certain courses. In short, there is nothing more to be said about the affairs of the State than their being "the ordinary routine of a peaceful native Government." A Frenchman or a German if told that certain portions of Guzerat are ruled over by a certain native prince called the Guicowar, or so forth, can have as much idea about the efficacy of his administration, or the moral and political condition of his subjects, as we might expect to have, on the strength of the data Colonel Barr condescends to give us, of the extent and nature of the Guicowar's laws and regulations, or of the nature and results of their operation, or of the various degrees and sorts of exactions of the Guicowar and his agents, or of the moral, practical and legal qualifications of the latter, or of the varied administrative influences in relation with the contentment or discontentment, progression or retrogression, of the people. The Resident has year after year failed to give us any ordinary amount of statistics and illustrations with the object of enabling one to independently picture to himself the nature of the Guicowar's administration, and the condition and feelings of all those affected by it. Thus, the ever continuous and remarkably unanimous public talk and judgment running to the effect that the administration as formed by all its depart-

ments is so wicked and so impotent for the purposes of almost the whole amount of public business, that the subjects would feel themselves happier if there were in existence no such administration whatever. This and other reasons we have been explaining must naturally forbid us to place any reliance on the conclusions of the Resident, which are quite antagonistic to his own premises as appearing on some deep consideration. These conclusions, as given in the report under notice, are that the Guicowar's districts are carefully cultivated, and the people are so prosperous that the subjects of other Governments are induced to settle with them! The Resident seems to make his statements just as they suit the times. So when he drew up his first report, everything was written only in commendation of the Guicowar, and a most gratifying picture was given of his districts. When all the false feathers he had put on himself and on his predecessor and his interesting proteges, were mercilessly plucked out, as they deserved to be, he began to send out more skilful reports. He has felt the futility of having the world to believe the contrary of what they naturally believed on the ground of patent facts. He has therefore been endeavouring, though with a very unwilling heart, to change his position; and as he could only change his position gradually, and in a manner unperceivable, we encounter a mass of partial and contradictory statements, (to say nothing more), which only better clear up the whole truth. Among several indirect admissions there is one about the Guicowary administration as appearing to 'go on *apparently* as usual,' and being '*superficially* all well.' Colonel Barr would never say such a thing candidly or emphatically, though it being adverse to the native rule it appears in as weak a form as possible. And the officials, who are identified with such a system, are such illiterate and degraded characters as would feel as much compunction in committing every conceivable guilt and wrong as butchers would feel in slaughtering animals falling within their grasp. Colonel Barr would also mention the administration as being devoid of all "energy and system." He must hereupon be

congratulated upon his sense of wrong and his sense of refinement. An administration is, in a certain measure, made up of "ordinary routine." In this or no other sense can we with any truth term the Guicowar's rule an "administration." Colonel Barr's admission about the "non-appreciation of the reciprocal duties between governors and the governed" is a key to the frightful truth which is more or less sought to be concealed. We have also the Resident's admission that in the very fountain source there is fair play and success entirely for corrupt and intriguing elements, so much so that engrafting on the Durbar a single honest and able functionary has been a matter of utter impossibility. It would not only be marvellous but perfectly unnatural if the subordinate services did not take their lessons from the higher ranks. All of them put together are most remarkable for being devoid of any element that would bid them do work or exercise influence for any other purposes than for the dire necessities of the State, or, above all, for satisfying their chronic and insatiable greed for money, or for giving vent to innumerable sorts of malignant and perverse designs. In the very nature of things it is impossible that they should be swayed by any incentive, voluntary or imposed, which would produce efforts in behalf of the trodden-down mass, or in behalf of any public justice or public welfare. The Guicowary administration is in short a pure and palpable combination of the most uncertain, most ridiculous and farcical, most inhuman and immoral, treacherous and extortionate, methods; it is the rule of no ordinary human creatures, but of flint-hearted, avaricious demons. The case may not be so aggravated in the comparatively very few districts, with the management of which the Political Department has been specially and directly charged. Most of the plausibility of the declaration that 'much improvement has been made in the Guicowary affairs through the intercession of our Government,' can only be traced to this circumstance, the whole truth of which we know not, and for which we are not at all prepared to give the credit arrogated to himself by the

Resident in his former Reports.* The careless and delusive assertions made more than once that the Guicowar's territories were carefully and fully cultivated, and that, therefore, the people in every way were contented and prosperous, and the Guicowary administration was worthy enough, were long ago refuted both by the *Gujarat Mitra*, in a series of articles, and by a highly posted unprejudiced Government officer. We insert below the article of that newspaper noticing the report of that officer, and published in its issue of March 1, 1868 :—

"OFFICIAL REPORT ON THE GUICOWAR'S DISTRICTS.—In reply to the novel and now famous circular of the Government of India, calling upon all its principal officers to state their views, with all such information and statistics as they can gather, about the comparative merits of British and Native rule in India, Mr. T. C. Hope of Surat has especially dwelt on the subject of the Guicowary administration, as contrasted with that of our own situated in its proximity, to show how he is led to acquiesce in the conclusion of His Excellency the Viceroy, that "the masses of the people are incontestably more prosperous and happy than they are under Native rulers." The publication of this letter must satisfy all disinterested inquirers as to the truth of the assertion, repeatedly maintained and proved in these columns, that there are indeed very few native states as capricious and degenerate as Baroda, squeezing the very last drop of blood out of its harassed and impoverished tenantry, and involving more than the maximum amount of hardships and miseries for its subjects in general. In the matter of the misrule of the Native States,

* As a statement affecting this question has been also repeated this year, we are called upon to reproduce the criticisms thereon of the *Gujarat Mitra*, the newspaper which first brought into light the Guicowary affairs, and the only newspaper which adopted the true and stern policy so urgently called for and persevered in for years together. In its issue of June 30, 1867, it said noticing the first Report :—" . . . . When a 'night's visit' to "Okhamundel can satisfy him that the Guicowar's rule was careful everywhere "in security for life and property, in greatly increased area of lands brought under "the plough, and in the progressive influx of the cultivating class from other parts "of Kattyawad, it is perfectly possible for him to form a similar opinion, which by-"the-bye must be awfully pointed and penetrating, of the other parts of the "Guicowary Raj. We are not in a position to know of the Guicowar's possessions "in Okhamundel where peace has returned after a long period of petty warfares "and grinding miseries. But thanking the Guicowar's administration for the "return of peace to Okhamundel, and producing it as one of the happy results "of his conduct, is one of the weakest assertions that can be put forth to shield the Chief from the scandals that are constantly thickening upon him. We need "not feel envious of the 'best of feeling' existing between the different political "officers and the Guicowar's agents, to which Colonel Barr alludes with much "satisfaction. Very possibly it was good brilliant moonlight, and there were to "his assistance all these people remaining in 'harmony' with each other."

Mr. Hope rightly conceives the Guicowar's to be an "extreme case"—an allegation accompanied by figures and statistics which now remove all doubt, if, indeed, any doubt was left—as to the palpable flimsiness and gross partiality of the first Baroda Residency Report issued by Colonel Barr last year. Not often have we heard of official impudence being so flagrant as that which actuated the Resident in styling his report, which was simply meant to tell the world that he and his successor were the most successful Residents, and that the Guicowar was the most virtuous of the native rulers, whose subjects were all prosperity and contentment, to be "a general review of the Baroda administration for the past year." The report was then criticized by us in two articles; and now that we have comparatively so disinterested a testimony as that of the Collector of Surat, we must respectfully ask Government to impartially institute a comparison between the statements made by their Resident and those made by one of their Collectors, who, it need hardly be said, must be deemed much more disinterested than the former, and as writing from direct experience of the state of things as his useful report evidences. When Colonel Barr's report was out, we lengthily explained what mischievous nonsense was his statement that the Guicowar's subjects were all prosperity and contentment; and now let us turn to what Mr. Hope says. And he says all that has been expressed in this journal since the past four years; only his statements carry unquestionable authority, and are founded on almost equally reliable figures—

"'The accompanying statement shows the present condition of ten of the Guicowar's pergunnahs, compared with seven talookas of our own. The figures for the latter are of course absolutely correct; those for the former are, I believe, very reliable, having been obtained from highly respectable private sources. The first point observable is the extreme oppressiveness of the Guicowar's revenue collections. His maximum rates compared with ours, are summarised herewith:—

	British.		Guicowar.	
	Maximum per Beegah.	Average Maximum per Beegah.	Maximum per Beegah.	Average Maximum per Beegah.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dry crop	8	5	20	14
Garden land	16	8½	45	26
Rice	17	10½	30	23

And the extent to which they are imposed is evidenced by the fact that his

cultivated area, though less than ours in the proportion of 22 to 100, yields a gross revenue 19 per cent. larger. Our collections give an average of Rs. 2-8 per beegah, whereas his amount to Rs. 13-5 per beegah. It is also undoubted that his collections are made in the manner most oppressive to the people. In many parts the produce is shared in kind, and the Guicowar's officials attach the crops when ripe, and prevent their being cut till security has been furnished, and various petty exactions have been submitted to. If a man raises two or three crops from his land the process is repeated with each. The demands, where in cash, are often quite arbitrary, and composed of a variety of complicated cesses and items which the cultivators can ill understand. The obvious result of such a system is that we have 77 per cent. of our culturable area in cultivation, while the Guicowar has only 40 per cent.' "

"'Another method of comparison, and a test of the correctness of the above statements, is afforded by the deed of partition of A. D. 1751 between the Peshwa and Guicowar, and the schedule appended to the Treaty of Bassein. The revenue of 14 of the pergunnahs retained by the Guicowar is shown in the former as Rs. 5,92,500, whereas, I have ascertained that it is now Rs. 24,85,000, being an increase of 310 per cent. Only three of the pergunnahs in that list, which we now possess, happen to be so shown as to allow of comparison; but I find that in them the revenue has risen from Rs. 2,41,500 to Rs. 5,44,000—an increase of only 125 per cent. But that this is a reliable average for the whole is clear by reference to the Treaty of Bassein, which shows that the seven talookas already referred to, and yielding (see statement) Rs. 20,95,000, were then estimated at Rs. 9,52,000, that is, the revenue has increased 120 per cent. in our time. That even these increases are in our case greatly attributable to increased cultivation, but in the Guicowars to increased demands, following the rise of prices, and leaving the ryot now, as formerly, a bare subsistence, may be safely inferred from the large proportion of the Guicowar's land still uncultivated.' "

* * * * * * *

"'(c).—Two years ago the oppression in one of the Guicowar's pergunnahs, contiguous to this district, was so intolerable that the people left a large proportion of their land waste, and applied in large numbers to my predecessor for permission to settle in our territory.' "

"'(d).—I have at present before me officially a proposal from certain subjects of the Guicowar to take up the whole waste land (91,000 beegahs) of the pergunnah of Mandvee in this district and bring it into cultivation within a fixed time, peopling it with emigrants from the Guicowar's territory. They offer to bring 5,000 this year.' "

"'There can be no doubt that emigration would be far more extensive even than it is, if, on the one hand, it were our practice to encourage it by assisting the new comers to build huts, sink wells, &c.; and on the other, the Guicowar did not resort to the severest measures to put a stop to it—confiscating all property left behind, and often imprisoning the relatives of the emigrants into the bargain.' "

"Every year we have been hearing of emigrants from the Guicowar's districts, or of those wishing to emigrate. Besides the spoliation and cruelties threatened and put into force, those who are compelled to abandon their homes and fields are also intimidated to the effect that Ingrez Sirkar will hand them over to the Rajah if they ventured to desert his districts. It is undeniable that under less rigorous circumstances hundreds of the Guicowary subjects would take every oppor-

tunity of getting out of the iron rule which grinds them down. If the revenue exactions of the Guicowar are taken as generally applicable to all his districts, they may appear even heavier than those stated by Mr. Hope. Only the other day we were told by a respectable party residing in the Guicowar's districts that in some cases the land rent has been increased fifty-five times more than it was only six years ago. Of course this is too shocking to be general, but there is no doubt of the excessiveness over which the tenantry continually weep, and which often drives them to the very last stage of poverty and despondency. It is a mockery to expect them to go to Baroda to seek redress—the only redress which they are likely to have there being in the dark cell of starvation and tortures. Of the loathsome character of the Guicowar's rentals another instance may be mentioned here. Take Kaliawady in which the Guicowar holds extensive landed estates. There the maximum rate is so high as Rs. 60 per beega, the minimum being Rs. 40. Not satisfied with such extortions he subjected the cultivators last year to three other taxes in the shape of "Chanlapati," "Enam Committee," and "Dustaka." Such exactions even are made more oppressive by the mode in which they are levied. To apply a new cess to a Vazifdar his field was surveyed, and he was then ordered to surrender Rs. 83, with the intimation that after assessing the value of his land the amount will be returned to him, deducting one-fourth of the amount of his realization. The valuation was estimated at Rs. 33 when the balance was demanded, but was not returned. The duped individual applied to the higher authorities at Baroda whence he was informed that what was credited already could not be returned, and that from next year he should pay Rs. 33. Again, we have heard of labourers who obtained merely a certain amount of corn for their labor having been made to pay Rs. 8 annually. According to the figures given by Mr. Hope, the Guicowar's average collections are five times greater than our own, but with an area of cultivation nearly half less than is the case with our Government. Further, let it be borne in mind that the sums cited by Mr. Hope are as they have been sent to the Guicowar, and not those actually extorted, as a good deal must necessarily go into the pockets of officers, most of whom are illiterate and unprincipled, and each of whom draws salary of from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20, having at his mercy thousands of subjects, and to whom is trusted the realization of extensive dues. When with all this are coupled the facts that the Guicowar squeezes from these officials a part of their illicit gain, and that the Durbar, in fact the whole administration, is devoid of a single ray of either intelligence or honesty, what tyranny and scoundrelism will not be exercised under such a state of matters. Independent, then, of the excessive rates collected for the Guicowar with all sorts of tyranny, must be other

exactions for the purses of these Karbharees, who have so much power at their command, and whose acts, however illegal, immoral, or cruel, have scarcely any chance of being questioned. Yet this is not all which can be said of some of the various miseries which the Chief's ryots undergo. Besides, there are scores of different woes which other classes have to tell. They have already had to pay for the Chief's diamond, his golden *howdhah*, sanctified by the sanction of Government, and his jewelled cloth for Mekka. Might we not shortly hear of a 'Makurpoor Vera'?"

"As always believed by us—a belief which does not admit of any refutation—scarcely anything has been wanting on our part in aiding the development of the most vicious propensities of an ignorant and barbarous native rule. A strong and justice-loving Government and an ordinarily virtuous and active Residency could have, to a certain extent, saved things from being brought to such a pass. Among other essential hints we stated, in speculating on the nomination of Colonel Wallace's successor in January 1866, that 'the future Resi-
" 'dent, if he is zealous, wise, and good, will have it in his power to
" 'relieve the over-oppressed ryots of a good deal of their heart-
" 'rending misery and to secure for them uniform and just rentals.' Instead of anything of this having been thought of or done during the long interval that has elapsed, Colonel Barr has preferred to remain as passive as his predecessor, his whole career presenting but a very few points of relief, in vain claiming any real satisfaction from the public. That a Resident could effectually advise the Chief in such matters as the water-works scheme for Baroda, and lead him to action in certain other matters, and that yet he could not have him attend to the deep laments of his subjects, and point him out at least the heavy damage done to his own revenues, reducing the ryots and others to the lowest depths of wretchedness, are circumstances indicative of the low tone of the Residency. Those acquainted with the nature of the Chief will readily confess that it is not impossible to induce him to see the perfect baseness of the present system, and the vast advantages that would accrue to him as also to his subjects, by freeing that system from its most apparent and flagrant vices, and identifying it with at least the chief principles of ordinary equity. But whilst the Chief's whims and extravagances have been ministered to, however indirectly it may be, how can the absence of that interference, the earnest assertion of which is calculated to reduce so much the sufferings of the people and increase so sensibly the resources of the State, be explained? Has any one ever heard of a Resident having ever exerted himself to have such works undertaken by the State as would open a way to the moral and material advancement of its subjects? If it is the duty of the paramount State to use

all gentle, persuasive and cautious, yet firm means in insisting upon things not being carried beyond the ordinary limits ; if it can assert its sympathy for a people that cannot rebel to compel their monster tyrants to lessen their diabolical greed ; and if Her Majesty's Government is not interested in a wholesale decay of the Guicowar's administration, then it behoves the Bombay Government to think seriously of their policy in relation to a State which is as capable of being gradually regenerated as any other native state, and to regulate the conduct of a Resident who seems somehow or other to refrain from being an instrument of good, and can make such unfounded and audacious assertions as those which Mr. Hope's report has now undoubtedly brought into a thorough contempt."

To enter fully into the whole of the revenue question of the Guicowar—which the limits of this pamphlet would not allow—is impossible, though we are put in possession of a very long communication on the subject from a respectable subject of the Guicowar who has inquired a good deal into his administrative questions. A very brief and pointed statement, only a few days ago made by one of the principal revenue officers in Gujerat, may, however, be reproduced here as made in his letters addressed to Mr. Robert Knight of the *Indian Economist*, on the subject of the revenue settlement of the Talooka of Soopa in the Surat Collectorate :—

"I have admitted that if Soopa were placed under the Sooba of Nowsary, it would be made to pay three *times* the 'present assessment,' that is the assessment as it stood before my settlement, but what would have been the results? Indescribable discouragement and misery of the bees in the State-hive. Absorption of all the profits of the soil and growth of as deep a hatred of rule as that which prevails in Guicowar's territory. It would be dangerous to provoke same feeling in our district simply on the grounds that it has not yet burst into rebellion there; for it is generally known were our protection of the Guicowar withdrawn he would be very summarily treated by his subjects."

We cannot well omit presenting to our readers the paras. of the last report referring to the nature and extent of the Guicowar's revenue and expenditure—

"It is found from information furnished by the Durbar, that the revenue derived from all sources amounted to Baroda Rs. 1,42,00,000."

"Most of this is realized in cash, but in a few districts it is still

customary to recover revenue in kind—that is, in grain. In some places the proportion of one half of the produce, in others of one-third."

"The expenditure for disciplined troops for Irregular Horse, and Seebundee, and for Dewusthan, Dhurmada, and State establishments generally, has been Rs. 1,15,00,000."

"To this must be added the 'Khangee Khurruch'—private or personal expenses of the Guicowar. They are very great, and in too many instances most unwisely incurred for occasions of public display, in presents to favourite courtiers, and in the construction of costly buildings intended almost exclusively for purposes of pageantry. Lakhs of rupees are thus spent which bring no return, and confer no benefit on His Highness' subjects, whilst works of real and lasting utility are comparatively neglected."

It has taken five years for Colonel Barr to make an effort to enlighten us with the accounts of the Guicowar. But this revelation or progress—if it can be called so—is not permitted at any faster rate than we have been accustomed to. It is eminently on the principle of commencing to teach a language to children who have no idea about it. To present rudiments to untaught children is natural enough; but similar effort in the other case—if we can for a moment speak with deference to it—is a gross insult to the public and one more proof of the apathy and inefficiency which have for so many years markedly characterized the conduct of the Residency. The information the Resident professes to give about the revenues and expenses is miserably uninstructive and scanty. The varieties and enumeration of figures under these heads will not surely bewilder us—the revenue amounts to Rs. 1,42,00,000, and the public expenses to Rs. 1,15,00,000. The climax of this terrible amount of statistical information is reached when we come to the mention of "Khangy Khuruch," or private and personal expenses of the Guicowar, which we are expected to be content with knowing as being "very great." There is not a single iota added to the information that we already possess as regards the Guicowar's revenue and expenses. The public know long since that the Guicowary districts yield something between a crore and a crore and a quarter of rupees. The Resident has not

reported only that which we have known years since, but has told us much less than what we come to know from time to time. Besides the regular revenue very considerable amounts are realized under, what ought to be, one of the most prominent heads of the Guicowar's accounts—which is "extortions" or certain periodical visitations on the Guicowar's subjects. Considering the form and matter of Colonel Barr's information under notice, it is easy to judge how incapable he must feel himself to make any allusion to a subject in which is comprised several years' history of numerous instances of extreme unscrupulousness and tyranny exercised upon the subjects to feed a continuous series of highly extravagant expenditures on worthless and demoralizing objects. His statement of expenditure is equally no statement, not even in the remotest sense of a statement. To simply say that the whole expenses, exclusive of the "Khangy Khuruch," amount to within a few lakhs of the revenue total, is to befool the public, to shirk a very grave and long since defined duty, and to encourage perpetual waste of money. Moreover, Colonel Barr knows, and if he does not know he ought to know, that it is not true to say that the public departments cost Rs. 1,42,00,000. This is the statement of the Durbar, and he ought to know that it is utterly unreliable. If it is reliable it must be admitted that the system of debit and credit observed by the Durbar is as perfect and honest as that of other Governments. It is notorious that it is not at all so. Extravagant sums were written off just as it suited the depraved whims and motives of the Chief and the Durbaries. That the residue left after the defrayal of public expenditure was merely appropriated to the personal expenses of the Guicowar, as we have to conclude from the Resident's statement, is as untrue as it is preposterous. There is the never-failing triumphant assertion of the strong and debased motive of using as much of public funds as possible in ministering to personal desires however base and varied. Personal expenses are distinguished from the public ones only so far as

that could be with convenience done. An ordinary consultation with conscience and a slight industry were sufficient to present us with the principal items of expenditure, as also to give us some idea as to the principal business of the State performed in return for these expenditures. To attempt this is to do much less than what certain engagements themselves warrant the Resident to do. But we are not aware of any instance indicative of an appropriate interference by the Resident as respects the public funds of the Guicowar's districts, though some years since the recklessness and criminality of the financial management have been so much intensified as to render this interference indispensable. The engagements with the Guicowar, as also the circumstances in connection with the subordination of this State to the Paramount Power, have always afforded every right and facility to their representatives, not merely to demand full accounts, but also to inspect the public treasury, and to compel the Guicowar to consult the Resident before any extraordinary expenditure was incurred. One of the important impressions which the reader of Colonel Barr's report is very likely to imbibe therefrom is, the Government and their representatives have been most considerate in their actions when these have affected the sovereign rights and privileges of the Guicowar. Colonel Barr at least would have us to be so impressed. But it is only one of the grossly unfounded impressions which the Colonel has in vain labored to foist on us. Those who know the historical connections of the different Guicowars with the British Government know well that in every possible matter in which their interests were concerned, the latter have strained in their favor and exacted every condition incidental to a vassal State. In all such cases no possibility was imagined of inflicting any humiliation or injustice upon an independent State, or restricting its freedom of action and feeling by any unauthorised interference. Thus, possibly, the most aggressive sort of diplomacy has had a play *ad libitum*, within narrow and selfish limits. The assertion of detergent moral force, it is true, can never affect in-

dividual interests, nor those of such systems as the fiscal ones of the British Government. Hence in a degree ensued all that *ensouciance* which declared unmistakeable signs of neutrality towards the perpetration of gross evils, culminating into such extreme forms of extortions, tyrannies, immoralities, and cruelties, as have made some of the past dark ages in Europe and Asia permanently memorable. The long and firm continuation of the non-intervention policy, permitting the Chief to indulge in every possible licence of barbarous passion and feeling, was not the way to teach the Guicowars the advantages of enlightened advice, nor a thing at all within the capability of the staunch adherents of the above policy.* The instance cited in the following foot-note was the most frightful, as it was the most dreadful result of the unreserved working of this policy. The Resident only exhibited startling impotency when a few well-directed words should have compelled the Chief to withdraw from the commission of a supremely brutal cruelty practised for a long period such as reflected the deepest disgrace on the Paramount Power. After the narration of this instance the reader will not feel surprised at the Chief having been able to have his own way in the matter of the constitution of the Durbar, his abject whims and profligacy, or his exactions and so forth. The least probability of succession by his brother after his death was known to be looked upon by Khunderao as an exceedingly bitter thing for himself, and one which if it could have been staved off he would have given the whole world for. Impelled by this burning jealousy as one of the means by which he sought to gratify his malignant desire was

* Such was the depth of this degeneracy that, when goaded and harassed by repeated condemnatory strictures, the Resident in vain tried to have the Chief to heed him when the latter took into his head to perpetrate the most barbarous cruelty upon certain parties against whom he bore a grudge. It would be serviceable to quote here the opinion of a most careful and reserve writer in the *Times of India* of the 23rd May 1866, which journal then rendered a rare service to the cause of millions by fully and systematically noticing the exposures of the *Gujerat Mitra* with all the judiciousness of an impartial journalist.—"Nothing less than "this faithful remonstrance was to be expected of Colonel Barr, but one cannot but "wonder after the long residence of Colonel Wallace at Baroda—first, that such a "remonstrance should be needed; and, having been made, that it should be dis-"regarded."

to thoroughly impoverish the State by every form of extravagance; and the Political Residency could not have indirectly more effectually assisted him in the attainment of his mean, dishonorable and ruinous object. When the public was persuaded to believe that, as a direct result of his influence and policy, Colonel Wallace left the State with a prosperous exchequer, a more brazen-faced falsehood could not have been uttered. The plain fact was that the State was placed on the high road to ruin and demoralization as one of the prominent results of his career. One could well understand Colonel Barr when he, as more than once, wished us to know that he had only followed the footsteps of his predecessor, and that the latter's régime was worthy of his imitation. And he cannot help playing still more on the credulity of the public. The oft-repeated scathing strictures against him compelled him to come forward with the confession, made in as much filtered a state as possible, that Khunderao was spending enormous sums of money on useless and demoralizing objects. The Resident was also forced to confess that he felt himself called upon to counsel the Chief on the subject.* But no one else knew better than Colonel Barr himself that his counsels, when he was forced to render them, were understood to be almost ineffective formalities. There was hardly any antecedent in the conduct of the Residency which would have necessitated the late Chief to practically pay any respect to counsels which he was scarcely tutored to respect. There is no instance on record of any Chief having been restrained from incurring any foolish expenditure. To prevent such expenditure is not simply saving of money, but also discouragement of excessive immoralities and a thousand inequities and tyrannies. If the Resident was possessed of any real willingness or competency to checkmate his vice, the succession of Mulharrao was the most opportune moment to act upon this question. When this occasion provided room for any

* "I lose no opportunity of impressing the folly of such expenditures upon the "Gaicowar in my frequent personal communications with him when he, at all "events, takes my advice in good part and professes to be convinced of its truth."—*Vide Report on the Baroda Administration for* 1867.

amount of prudently devised interference the most wholesome thing the Resident thought of doing was to look upon the change very much as if it had taken place in Timbuctoo. He might be confidently challenged if any honest critic would form any other notion as to the attitude he has been observing. In 1867, when Khunderao was living, he thought it due to counsel him. This year, when a new ruler, under eternal obligation to the sovereign power has come in, and all the circumstances have been completely changed in its favor, the Resident more completely sinks into his old nonentity, and makes the old and effeminate complaint, ignoring the necessity of any intervention. There is a further offensive conclusion to be drawn from his allusion to extravagant expenditures, and that is, we might still consider that "the personal expenses of the Guicowar are in too "many instances most unwisely incurred for occasions of "public display, in presents to favorite courtiers, and in the "construction of costly buildings intended almost exclusive-"ly for purposes of pageantry." We must assume that these expenses are much of the present as of the past. Further, the Report quite allows us to assume that such expenses must continue and are never likely to cease. The Resident may be challenged if any other construction can be put on his own conduct which has been so many a time exposed, and his own statements which offer themselves only to be mercilessly criticised. The new Chief having been permitted to throw away some two or three lakhs of rupees in vain display, immediately after his succession, and on the occasion of His Excellency the Governor's visit to Baroda, is one of the several instances in which the Resident was bound to lead Mulharrao aright. It is of course from no spirit of disloyalty that we disapprove of these expenses : no one who can think about it will dare say anything of the sort. We can scarcely doubt that His Excellency himself must have regretted this waste of the Guicowar's funds, especially when they have been extremely thinned, bringing the financial affairs to the verge of bankruptcy. It must be hoped that he was not

aware of what was going to be done to flatter his person at the cost of the miserable ryots. No ground can, however, be discovered, which would relieve the Resident of the charge of continuing his notorious apathy not only in this but in many other matters. It will now be easy to know the share of the Resident's guilt in regard to the frantic extravagance under notice, which has not only swept off all the reserves left by Sheeaji Rao, but has plunged the State into heavy debt.

We now come to the concluding paras. of Colonel Barr's report. "The chief political event affecting the Baroda State" is recorded to the effect that Khunderao Maharaj died on such and such a date, and that "his younger and only "surviving brother, Mulharrao, was at once proclaimed his "successor, in default of any male heir of the deceased." Mulharrao was subjected to indefinite incarceration for harbouring treasonable designs against his reigning brother, which were never proved against him, and which were most tortuously and maliciously attributed to him under highly suspicious circumstances. As it will happen in Native Durbars, Khunderao bore a heavy grudge against his brother, and conceived an inveterate antipathy to any likelihood of Mulharrao's succession. Not succeeding in his deeply cherished desire to have an adopted son recognised, he left no means untried to get rid of him. Mulharrao in vain demanded an ordinary trial and the intercession of Government, which was called for, since the quarrel was among the members of the Guicowar's family. His last hope to be fairly treated rested in the British Government, and in that too he was bitterly disappointed, owing to the former Resident having sided with Khunderao, which he was so well expected to do. In spite of his diabolical efforts to deprive Mulharrao of all aid and encouragement, and to keep him beyond the reach of any human soul who could fight in his behalf, a few of his friends remained faithful to his cause to the last, under the most discouraging and distressful circumstances. Among these, prominent was Mr. Wenkutrao Gowind Patwarnun, who for

several years persevered in obtaining redress for Mulharrao. His untiring representations, coupled with those of a portion of the Press, especially of the *Gujerat Mitra*, were mainly instrumental in saving him from extreme dangers and rascally treatment. All the principal details would have to be gone into, if the grievous injustice caused to Mulharrao through the conduct of the Residency were to be made fully apparent. It is, however, sufficient for our purpose here to briefly recapitulate the circumstances, as we have done above, which bear such close connection with Mulharrao's succession, and will always remain a strong testimony of the mischievous attitude of the Residency. Since the all-powerful object underlying all Colonel Barr's explanations and persuasions has been made clear to us, it need not cause us any surprise that he is entirely silent as to the circumstances attending the succession of Mulharrao. He is satisfied with making a most common-place declaration. If he had attempted to say anything more, he would have provoked inquiry, which it has always been deemed desirable to stifle, or the link of such impressions, as that nothing strange, nothing stultifying, nothing revolutionary, had taken place, would have been thus far broken. Hence he easily glides into such innocent matters as the Guicowar's pedigree, or the pregnancy of the widow Ranee, even at the risk of indulging in tedious and dry repetitions.

The question of a Minister for the Baroda Durbar is the most important question, as considered both in relation to the well-being or otherwise of two millions of subjects, and in relation to the influence of the British Government, to which these people have a certain amount of legitimate claim. The treatment of this question by the Government and their representatives for many a past year, has certainly not given us a single ground for anything but a bitter condemnation of their policy and actions. It is much to be deplored, because we have to state it plainly that since the influence of the British representatives commenced at Baroda and was fully acknowledged on all sides, that influence in this, as in other

momentous affairs, has been creative of great evils and corrupting examples. Since the first connection of the Guicowar with the paramount State, the latter has possessed every legal and moral right to compel the Durbar to be controlled by at least one such person as would possess ordinary virtues and competency to impart, as far as possible, a correct tone to the Guicowar's affairs, in fact, to arrest wholesale chaos and disorganization, and to bless this great principality with those primary forms of Government, which it only among all the Native States of India is known to lack. The position of Government for initiating and stimulating projects in pursuance of essential public amelioration, has been stronger and more favorable than we can here express. This position could not have been abused to any better satisfaction of those who have indulged in this abuse. It was not the thoughtfulness and capacity of wise and zealous conquerors that the British representatives asserted at Baroda, and the Durbar went on very much as its remotest predecessor used to do, when the English people in India were merely traders, and when their existence here depended on the forbearance of Native rulers.

It would require much more space than we are allowed, to trace the British relations with the Guicowar, affecting the Ministry question, from the date when the British influence was first established at Baroda. We shall consider how this question has been dealt with since the time of Gowind Rao Roria, the predecessor of Bhow Sindhia, who now reaps the fruits of his doings. It was mainly by chance that the Guicowar had a Minister like Gowind Rao Roria who, of course, possessed very little of useful characteristics beyond being innocent of many of the inherent vices of debased courtiers. How Khunderao was enabled to procure the dismissal of Gowind Rao, since the Chief was bound to consult the British authorities both on appointing and dismissing his Minister, is involved in that deep mystery in which all urgent affairs of the Baroda State are so scrupulously kept. The circumstances connected with

the dismissal and alleged cold-blooded murder of Gowind Rao Roria might be gathered from the articles of the *Gujerat Mitra*, which we transcribe below from its issues of 8th December 1867 and 19th January 1868 :—

(1) "The tyrant chief of Baroda is once more generally condemned for having committed a cowardly, treacherous and an insane act, so true to his nature, in having procured the dismissal of Gowind Rao Roria from the Prime Ministership of the Baroda Durbar. It is reported that ever since Gowind Rao, in an unlucky moment, represented the injustice of banishing Dada Saheb, against whom the Chief has a deadly grudge, the removal and ruin of the late Prime Minister was uppermost in his heart, the more so as, in spite of the constant and best endeavours of Gowind Rao to pamper the vilest whims and imaginations of the Guicowar, he could not help interceding when some of the most unhuman cruelties were threatened to be perpetrated. The man to whom this highly lucrative berth has been given is Bhow Sindhia, the so-called Commander-in-Chief of the Guicowar's Forces, who is the son of a miller, and who simply owes his rise to the accidental friendship the Guicowar contracted with him when both were boys. Govind Rao was, of course, not remarkable for any intelligence, and as for honesty we know not how far. Still his separation from the Durbar is to be regretted for his being comparatively free from malignant and cruel disposition, and for his long experience of our political relations with the Native State. His connection with the Durbar dates so far back as about fourteen years, and he is said to have been so well trusted by General Outram that he caused the expulsion of the intriguing Bhow Timbakur, when Gunput Rao, the present Chief's elder brother, was reigning. Knowing the perfidiousness of the Guicowar he beseeched long for voluntary retirement and permission to proceed to Benares, but he is said to have been falsely played upon until he was brought to this fate, and so much does the cowardly chief fear his existence elsewhere than in Baroda, that it is reported that he is ordered not to proceed beyond Baroda, and is stripped of all his Enamy villages, and allowed an annual pension of Rs. 10,000. Such being the case as reported, Gowind Rao may well apprehend for any reputation or comfort that may have been left to him and even for his safety. A rumour also meanwhile prevails that in getting his wishes fulfilled—no means having been left untried—the Pagoda tree was well shaken."

(2) "THE BARODA CRIMES.—The worst, and the truly worst, has not yet been told of the Baroda Chief and his rule. This journal could not but ever keep itself alive to the necessity of acting as his persistent de-

nouncer ; but it has endeavoured to be cautious in its revelations. The last dark deed at Baroda relates to the late Prime Minister, now, alas, also the late Gowind Rao Roria. Being aware how extremely dabased and horrifying was the state of things there, did we not almost anticipate the fate of this unfortunate man, yet keeping back the worst that we felt ?"—

"'Knowing the perfidiousness of the Guicowar, he beseeched long for voluntary retirement and permission to proceed to Benares, but he is said to have been falsely played upon, until he was brought to this fate, and so much does the cowardly chief fear his existence elsewhere than in Baroda, that it is reported that he is ordered not to proceed beyond Baroda, and is stripped of all his Enamy villages and allowed an annual pension of Rs. 10,000. Such being the case as reported, Gowind Rao may well apprehend for any reputation or comfort that may have been left to him *and even for his safety*. (The last words we have now emphasised.)'"

"Six weeks have hardly elapsed since we wrote this, and the following distressful announcement is made in the *Bombay Gazette*, the very paper which once stood the Guicowar's and his 'Wally Kaka's' warm advocate, and which once edified us with the declaration that the Chief was 'one of the best, if not the best, of the Native rulers.'"

"'The Baroda correspondent of the *Times of India* mentions the death, on 10th January, of Rao Sahib Roria, late Prime Minister to H. H. the Guicowar. Our contemporary's version of the event accounts for the death of the deceased by his having undertaken a pilgrimage on foot to a temple 40 miles north-east of Baroda, the journey being beyond his strength. We are assured that the Dewan went on a pilgrimage to the shrine by short stages ; that he had gone one stage, and then rested to take his meals, and a few minutes after taking his food he was seized with vomiting, and, on being brought back into the city, died and was burned. Strong suspicions are entertained of his having been poisoned. The matter will no doubt be investigated, but the process of cremation has destroyed the first and readiest means of ascertaining the fact.'"

"This brief tale, shocking as it is, bears only a close similarity to the thousand and one equally heinous wrongs of which Baroda, openly or whisperingly, has been convicted since the past four years. Must not strong suspicion haunt us that poor Gowind Rao Roria has been murdered ? His death is attended with circumstances perfectly consistent with Baroda as they have ever been known. Such acts imputed to Baroda have now ceased to boil our blood. Among other causes, the British Residency may be thanked for the crisis attained by that Durbar. Colonel Barr is there, but the man whom we would wish to be there, first of all, has long since sought comfortable retirement, and has not even returned with the prize of a councilship in the Bombay Government, as was intimidated at the time of his noted departure. Every crime, every atrocity committed there, must remind one of the grave responsibility vilely spurned. As the hundred guests were being delighted with the nicest dainties and the choicest wines, last Christmas, and as the Guicowar thought he had once more

triumphantly purchased the 'maharbani' of the ruling race and the omnipotent 'sirkar,' was not that villainous plot, now revealed, being devised? And say what we may, and whatever may be the Chief's conduct and the doings of his Durbar, the condescending, courteous and obliged guests could not in their merry ignorance have possibly forgotten the toast of 'long life and prosperity to His Highness.' Yet, we feel we can imagine that the Guicowar's Christmas table was spilled over with the blood of millions of his moaning peasantry crushed under his iron heel—that that successful Christmas table was only a fresh incentive to crimes and degeneracy."

On the appearance of the second article Colonel Barr reported to Government that the rumour published by the *Gujerat Mitra* was unfounded, Gowind Rao Roria having met with a natural death. It cannot, of course, be stated with any certainty that Gowind Rao having incurred the strong enmity of Khunderao, was diabolically deprived of his life. But the prevalence of a strong general belief that the death of Gowind Rao was not a natural death, and that it had a peculiar affinity with the displeasure of the Guicowar, is undeniable. There need not be any conclusion drawn from this which would impute any wrong to the deceased Chief; but the circumstances independent of him need only be mentioned. The suspicions were currently reported in some decided sort of manner, and the Resident simply made a bare denial, not any way noticing any of the circumstances which rendered foul play probable. The safer and juster thing for him to have done was not to have ventured on the authoritative contradiction, since he could not have been honestly convinced whether the report current had any or no grounds to rest upon.

If the British authorities assented to the dismissal of Gowind Rao Roria in some sure hope of securing a better person, their action would have been applauded. But the whole business, as sought to be done by the Guicowar, presents no other merits except those of a strong and disgustful suspicion.

And what was the conduct as was then actually observed by Government? That conduct was to minister to the depraved wishes of the unscrupulous tyrant. The Government was beforehand prepared not to impose that principal

restraint which was the rare deterrent to the huge State demoralization, and which bespoke more than half or nearly half the potent influence of the British. In fact, a well-meditated plan was formed, so that no obstruction might exist in the carrying out of the Chief's unequivocally immoral and suicidal measure. The treaties between the two powers distinctly provided that no Minister was to be appointed by the Guicowar except on consultation with, and sanction of, the British Government. When the whole country was being deluged with civilizing influences of the Western foreigners, no large consideration could have in the least warranted to suffer a strip of district to remain wedded to unmitigated barbarism. The inducement to, at least, suspend the course of barbarism as much as it lay in the power of the Regenerators sent to us by Providence, was natural, strong, and righteous. The condition the Guicowars were bound down to was practically, in the important sense we have taken it to be, a dead letter. The Guicowars were never habituated to associate with a corrective element, and as far as the relief and welfare of the people were concerned, the wholesome policy secured by the British authorities was not only rendered inoperative, but was destined to find affairs more and more degenerating. Year after year the necessity of placing the control of the Durbar in the hands of an enlightened, shrewd, and calculating Minister became more pressing; whereas no method or contrivances were observed for the introduction of the much-desired element. The British representatives were not satisfied with this spectacle, which they had, in a certain degree, helped to enact. But under these felicitous circumstances the late Khunderao sent up a proposition entreating Government to renounce its privilege of approving or disapproving the Guicowar's selection of a Minister. The proposal was silently sent up to Government under peculiar circumstances, not through Colonel Barr, who was then temporarily absent from the scene, but through one Colonel Arthur, who was acting for him. Within, we believe, six months, and before Colonel

Barr's return from England, this very salutary project was fully carried out, and a person was at once raised to the premiership, whose qualities were his extreme illiterateness, savage haughtiness, depraved tyrannizing temper, and family worthlessness. The public knew nothing that this bit of exquisite civilization was going to be perpetrated, and even after it was perpetrated, scarcely any one out of the sacred political circle knew it, until the Resident himself felt it would be much too serious to keep the public in total darkness. It is easy to appreciate the position in which the Resident hereupon found himself, but it is suggestive of no pity or extenuation, for it was much his own creation and that of those whom he followed with such pride and gratification. This is his delivery on the subject, for which we are indebted to his Report for 1867 :—

"After my departure in May to Europe on furlough His Highness requested to be allowed in future to appoint a Minister without the previous sanction of Government; and this privilege has been conceded with an intimation that the Guicowar will be held personally responsible for the proper conduct of affairs, and be expected to give due weight to the advice offered by the British representative at his Court on any points which may arise calculated to affect the relations of the Baroda State with the British Government. The concession therefore in reality makes little change in the Guicowar's previous position in this respect, although the power of veto hitherto in force and on a very few exceptionable occasions exercised might perhaps have had the effect of rendering Guicowars more cautious in their selections of ministers than they would otherwise have been."

What necessity arose for this important change in the relations of the two Powers, the Resident has not thought of explaining in the least. Nor, independent of him, can we see what necessity at all had arisen. It would be quite superfluous to discuss the point of the Chief's utter incompetency to appoint a proper person at his own discretion. On the contrary, according to the interested admission of the Political Officer himself, 'the power of veto had to be exercised on a few exceptionable occasions.' The power should have been exercised not exceptionally but frequently. Why this should

have been so all that we have above written furnishes us with ample grounds. The deliberate withdrawal of this power by the Paramount State was a full culmination of the sinful indulgences which were the offsprings of Colonel Wallace's policy. There could only be two reasons to justify the abdication of this detersive influence—either that the restriction caused substantial impediments in the Guicowary administration, or that the concession was a matter of no consequence as Colonel Barr labors to show. If any of these two reasons is advanced, it cannot be deemed anything else than wholly fallacious and ridiculous. If it appeared that the Guicowar's genuine independence had suffered, and suffered in the interests of the people, a full and convincing representation ought to have come forth. In this case the duty would be of such a grave nature that a representation about it could only be expected from the officer who was the actual Resident, and who alone knew fully the concerns which did or did not demand the step in question. Beyond the submission of such a representation, it required the most anxious consideration of the authorities concerned and a full and public ventilation. If the first reason aforesaid was true, it was a most startling truth, having for its foundation some grave matters of which we were wofully ignorant. But the Resident did not dare to pretend anything of the sort. Moreover, he did not think of assigning any reason at all. The conscience of the Resident could not have but smitten him for the startling, dangerous and immoral nature of the concession. If, as he asserts, it was of no consequence, then, there was hardly any need for him to have alluded to it in the way he has done. Let it be plainly seen why this was done. It may be inferred from the tenor of his declaration that he would as well not prefer to be identified with the responsibility of having procured for him the concession. He takes care to mention that it was proposed and given effect to during his six months' absence, and a proposal for it by the Guicowar was even made during his absence. As no interest on any of the sides was

being jeopardized—if it was, it was the first and foremost thing which needed a full exposition—it is not easily intelligible why this momentous and delicate question was started and solved during the temporary incumbency of Colonel Arthur, or why he should have been suffered to do so by the different Governments. Khunderao could not have originated the idea all at once, and the Government could not have within the space of a few months settled the whole affair in his favor. If it was possible that Government could not have of themselves seen the proper way, they should have waited for the *pucka* Resident's return. It is not our function to notice and inquire into the reports that were current when Colonel Arthur obtained the privilege for the Guicowar. Any decent amount of hatred for unmitigated barbarism is quite sufficient for the detestation of the retrogressive change caused in the British policy, and for the idiotic nomination of Bhow Sindhia as Minister. We have in vain sought for any such decided feeling in Colonel Barr. Here, as elsewhere, he cannot help exposing himself as being invariably fond of incorrigible passiveness and at best a third-rate lukewarmness towards ideas and actions as regards reform. Where the state of affairs is so abandoned as at Baroda, no one having regard for humanity would wish even to speak anything that would discourage reform. Even the contemptible perversion he is constrained to utter distinctly concedes that had "the power of veto hitherto in force and on a very few exceptionable occasions exercised" not been withdrawn, it would have rendered "Gaekwars more cautious in their selections of Ministers than they would otherwise have been." The first reform that was called for was in the nomination of a Minister. The partially truthful and glaringly contradictory assertions of the Resident above examined have been made to show that any step towards reform, further than what he has been able to take, was beset with insurmountable difficulties, while horrid abuses imperatively called for every practicable mitigation. That, in such a case, even if it was really so desperate, as we are made to believe, every advantage and acquisi-

tion on the side of progress can only be deemed invaluable, needs no demonstration. The act under notice of those professing reform must irretrievably disgrace any creature who in any degree professes to be civilized, and to be actuated only by broad and impersonal principles. That a lakh or half a lakh of rupees can procure the commission of this deed being entirely improbable, it cannot be termed other than being utterly stupid, reckless and shameful, when we know this for certain, there being before us the political authority's plain confession, that but for the veto of the British Government the Gaekwars would be untrustworthy in their selections. In face of this fact, the hard reality of which the Resident has filtered down to the last, as he has systematically done with every other reality that he has had to encounter so uncomfortably, the British representatives felt no remorse to undermine the foundation of that sacred edifice, which was the special bestowal of Providence, and which every moment pre-eminently required strengthening. As if this was not sufficiently unseemly, the nomination of Bhow Sindhia was on the whole approved of in an apologetic tone, and he was even considered esteemed and honest, though his qualifications as a Minister, we were told, were almost nil. And this was about an individual whose obscurity and illiterateness were not less than those of an athlete of the Guicowar.* One of his athletes or one of the shopkeepers confronting his Palace might as well have been raised to the Premiership. That he did not claim honesty as one of his qualifications the recent revelations before the very officer who stooped to eulogize him have

* The *Gujerat Mitra* of 12th January 1868 furnished the following information about Bhow Sindhia in referring to the revision of the salaries of some of the high functionaries at Baroda:—"The mention of one and the chief "instance must serve as an index to all the rest. Bhow Sindhia, who has "been promoted to the Ministership, will receive Rs. 1,34 000 per annum, of course "of the *Bavasai* coin, which is somewhat less in value than our own corres- "ponding coin. How far he is fit to receive this princely amount nearly equivalent "to the remuneration of any of the British Governors of this country, will be "apparent from the fact that any of our ordinary *Muhalkaris* is far superior in "character and qualifications to this Minister to a State second only to "those of the Nizam or the Holkar. Among other gratulatory, direct or in- "direct results of the presence of the British power and influence in that State, "this must have also greeted the attention of the numerous members of our "Government who enjoyed the last Christmas under the kind and virtuous "hospitality of the Guicowar."

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amply proved. Though blessed with a monthly income of thousands as return for merits which were scarcely worth as many pice, he of course considered himself bound to use every unlawful and immoral means to amass more money. Where any other officer would have felt extreme disgust and indignation at the selection, Colonel Barr viewed it with perfect self-complaisance, and further undertook to considerably modify its extreme unworthiness. We do not conceal the admirable consistency observed all throughout the affair—the peculiarly worded approval of Bhow Sindhia's nomination being quite in keeping with the Resident's notion about the renunciation by Government of their power of veto.

Such was the measure of reform inaugurated by the British representative at Baroda in the year 1867. Not to remedy the constitution of the Durbar, but to precipitate it further into the mire of corruption and degeneration was its open object; and the political authorities have had themselves to record the results of their exemplary action. What was wanting on account of the neutral disposition of the deceased Minister towards certain more aggravated sort of evils, was supplied by the nomination of Bhow Sindhia, who, in the bargain, was innocent even of the thin merits of Gowind Rao. Not even a world of treasure conferred on him would have been able to restrain Bhow Sindhia from corrupt and wicked acts. He got courage even to attempt the corruption of a British officer. He who was considered an honest and esteemed person was soon proved a worthless obnoxious fellow. The crime was too intense and too open for Government not to insist on his suspension. But the Chief naturally acted worse than an indulged boy. He opposed the resolution of Government to procure his removal. "The expectation" expressed by the Resident in a former report, that Khunderao "would banish "from his thoughts the hope of obtaining the restoration of "his dismissed Minister to office remained unfulfilled. To "the day of his death he clung to the hope, and left no means "untried to attain this, which appears to have been the dear-"est wish of his heart, and so Neembajee Rao Dholay conti-

" nued ostensibly to act as Minister, whilst in reality he was " so in little more than the name." Was the Chief induced, tutored, or obliged, to feel, act, and expect any other way than that recorded above? He hesitated not to defy and insult the orders of the Paramount Power; for, practically, the control remained in the hands of Bhow Sindhia, and none questioned him.

By this time Khunderao expired, leaving the Ministry question in a supremely unsatisfactory state, as, indeed, nothing else was to be expected. As already made plain in the former part of this pamphlet, the decree of Providence left the Guicowary dominion virtually at the mercy of the British Government. It was a beneficent decree. To the imbecilities already in existence were added the dangers connected with such a native ruler as Mulharrao was. This was so serious a crisis that not a moment deserved to be lost in at once strengthening Mulharrao with a competent and zealous Minister, and furnishing him with at least half a dozen of honest and ordinarily practical administrators. The facilities for having Mulharrao only but cheerfully to accept the principal radical measures, for the reception of which everything was so ripe, were as evident and as great, as the temptations for all the reactionary excesses and other baneful results of the rule of a novice were irresistible and numerous. When reforms are demanded in places a hundred times better than Baroda, it is easy to conceive the inexpressible emergency of reforms at this conjuncture that occurred at Baroda. A conscientious and earnest official would not have slept until the noble opportunity was availed of in its thorough entirety. But even this wide and glorious opening was not able to affect the thick crust of passivity under which the political authorities were buried. Elsewhere it is illustrated how very content they were with the idea that the death of Khunderao had caused no change whatsoever. Such crimes as were undoubtedly involved in practically leaving Mulharrao alone on the most critical occasion, they were accustomed to. The whole thing was left to the devil-take-care policy.

An indisputably just and favorable opportunity offered itself for an introduction of such changes in the mutual relations of the two powers as would have, in some essential respects, weakened the influence of the few monsters who have been oppressing and demoralizing the people. But that opportunity was blindly passed over. That Mulharrao was left to do what he liked, despite that he was only acting as a Regent, could not of course displease him. So it was open to him to choose any Minister he liked, and he was permitted to have one from the Durbar's clan quite unfit for the great occasion that had arisen. This was entirely consistent with the former conduct of the political authorities. Mulharrao's occupation of the *Gadi* was a signal for the dismissal and engagement of many persons, private and official, and for considerable reduction in expenses and the incurment of extensive expenditures. It is not to be denied that His Highness Mulharrao hereupon acted in good faith and to the best of his abilities. And he also acted so in regard to the nomination of a Minister. But the question before the political authorities was not that Mulharrao should be left alone with such hangers-on as with whom he was expected to be thickly infested. But the distinct and pressing question was the duty of the British representatives to render Mulharrao all the assistance of an actively sympathizing guardian. Mulharrao's release and ascension good deal depended on the British Government, which none else knew better than His Highness himself. He ascended the *Gadi* with feelings of extreme submission and reverence for the British Government, and with certain firm convictions that the rule of his late brother was the rule of terror and profligacy, that he was surrounded and influenced by the worst courtiers, and that the universal opinion was quite just that the State affairs called for a thorough remodelment. He came out of his prison in all innocence, without any harmful prejudices as to what was the whole truth, and as to what was required to be indispensably done, and with the strong belief of receiving every effectual assistance to meet the over-

whelming and varied difficulties of his new position, and, finally, with that state of mind and feeling which were all prepared and willing to accept whatever that was advised and offered by the Paramount Power. But we must at the same time impress on our mind the existence of certain weaknesses which, if allowed, would take the place of the prepossessions we have enumerated as so greatly advantageous to progress. The mind of the new Chief was very much like the mind of a child. It would have taken any turn or tone that was given to it. There existed such immense power and means as would, if left in full swing, in no time spoil the mind of Mulharrao. But side by side there was also a moral force, to which the turn of events had given such an ascendancy as to have fitted it for rescuing the Chief with amazing success and certainty. Only it was in the hands of the British representatives whether or not at this opportune season to have thrown in Mulharrao's mind the seeds of virtuous influence. This was the first and the best season when Mulharrao should have been guarded against being led by the Durbar monsters, and against expecting or receiving that disastrous indulgence which degenerated his late brother and left recollections behind him disgraceful to himself and to certain British officials accredited to his Court. The duty of intervention having been too pressing and too palpable, some little stir may now and then have been made. That, however, sinks in utter insignificance, when we consider the magnitude of what should have been done and what remained being done. In demonstrating the intentional culpability of the British representatives having left Mulharrao at the mercy of corrupting temptations, an additional argument is furnished in support of the fact that it was this very degrading indifference which made the late Chief much worse than he was. If Mulharrao was granted that undue freedom which he was not capable enough to expect, nor to enjoy which any desire had sprung in him, simply that the faithlessness of the Residency policy may not be illustrated by the action of the Political Officer himself, and that every possible consistency

may be preserved from first to last, nothing can be more unstatesmanlike and unworthy of the British officers who profess to be civilized, but who have practically degraded civilization in their persons.

No one who is willing enough to understand the principles of international consanguinity as the Paramount State bears towards Baroda, will for a moment contend that the applying of political balsam to its affairs, when that cure forced itself out in a natural course of things, was in any way unlawful, inexpedient, or impracticable. The interference that was felt unavoidably necessary was not in the least officious, and there was no question of invading the sovereign rights of the Chief. These and similar other pleas have been and will be advanced; but it is only the desire for shielding inexcusable incapacity and feelings of shallow hypocrisy that would dictate such pleas. Not to speak now of the period of Khunderao's reign, there was no question, we must repeat, of sovereign rights, when Mulharrao was taken out of the prison and led to the throne. There was actually no *existence* of sovereign rights, as we would understand in the sense of the sovereign rights of a Sindhia or a Holkar. Mulharrao was in a position even inferior to that of the late Maharajah of Mysore, when he had agreed to the assumption of his administration by the British Government. The inferiority of that position, however, was not the creation of any one, was not inflicted on him by any one. It was not in the slightest degree humiliating to him; it did not injure him in any one's estimation. On the contrary, it was a position to which he had despaired to attain; it conferred on him unutterable happiness and majesty. It was one of those rare dispensations of Providence in which the lucky recipient is over-replete with bliss. He would have been supremely content had he been denied all except the minimum of this bliss. His natural aspirations at most could have panted only for this much, and if that alone was secure to him he would have still been all gratefulness and all gladness. For anything beyond this, no ambition was excited in him, until it was

deliberately made to be excited in him. But any capacity to enjoy this ambition duly he had none, and he could not have. Only his true friends can say this, and say it without in the least desiring his dignity being compromised or his independence curtailed. It is a pleasant and even useful thing to let him have dignity and independence so far as nature has intended them for him. But no person of practical wisdom and integrity would wish him to enjoy these beyond their due limits, as then it would be so at the cost of millions. To grant full freedom to an inexperienced Chief who owes his ascension to an incomparably more powerful and civilized power, to permit his spontaneous tendencies of gratitude and submission to be annihilated, and to let him hopelessly overrun by the varied mass of obnoxious elements, is no political sagacity or rectitude, no bestowal of legitimate or healthy independence, no consulting the essential interests of the State or the people. Such pretences are undoubtedly conceived and offered; but they are gratuitous and mischievous pretences.

Since the relative position of both powers and the circumstances connected with Mulharrao and his kingdom are brought into this prominence, the enormity of the omissions of the British representatives is also quite evident. The letter published in the *Star of India* laid great stress on the first examples that were to be set by the political authorities and the first impressions they were called upon to produce on the mind of the Chief. But it would seem that no obligation was deemed more imperative than that of perpetrating more folly and more crime, to conceal the follies and crimes of the past times.

The best regulated department of the British Government themselves could not have been transferred from one functionary to another, with so much confidence, promptness and facility, as the Baroda realm was handed over to Mulharrao. His immediate succession to it was undisputed; it was not that which was to be objected. What was wrongful and immoral was this,—when Government had to send Mulharrao to the throne, he was put on it without being furnished with independent executives who would have been competent

enough to discover whether such things as the various state-property, treasury and outstandings were quite safe, whether the accounts were at least beyond all ordinary suspicions, and, as also one of their first measures, to enliven Mulharrao's attention to the facts of the infinite disgrace and demoralization and enormous losses and miseries that were the results of the Durbar cliquism. An opportunity to apply this measure was naturally created, and the application needed to be instantly effected, the more so when Mulharrao was proclaimed only a Regent. As we have seen above, he was exactly so situated as would have made him bow to the prudent and practical advice and exhortations of the British representatives in case they had been offered. And there was no one whose opposition it would have been worth while to take into any account. But it was only sluggishness and inefficiency of the very first order that were displayed by the Residency on an occasion when it should have caught time by the forelock and acted with the utmost possible zeal and energy. All this was eminently congratulatory to the Durbaris who, having matters left to them as they were, were bent upon improving each shining hour.

The influence of the debased Durbar could not be broken down, nor substantially weakened, by refraining from every molestation of it, and allowing such men as Bhow Rohurkar and Hariba Dada to warp the Chief's mind. But the former at least has stood high in the estimation of Colonel Barr and his predecessor, as mentioned in the last Report. The value of Colonel Barr's estimation of the Durbar people is a well known thing. Bhow Sindhia was also esteemed by him. But we knew what he was and also what he turned out to be. We know nothing of Hariba Dada, except that he has been in the enjoyment of an enormous salary, that he was never known in connection with any worthy act, and that he neither claimed any capacity or willingness to do any good to the State. Bhow Rohurkar is stated to be an obscure and insignificant person who, by the usual contrivances of the courtiers of his class, is said to have gained great influence with the Chief.

If an old and one of the chief officials like Hariba Dada

was so highly esteemed, the long-pending question of nominating a proper Minister was at once solved. It is only this discreditable conclusion that we can draw from Colonel Barr's allusion to the nomination of a Minister. No indifference on his part could lighten the overwhelming necessity of providing the Guicowar with a competent guide. And so no sooner did Mulharrao succeed than this question came with greater force than ever to the notice of all concerned. But there was that stumbling-block the Resident in the way—his invincible lukewarmness even towards the most moderate innovation was even worse than undisguised hostility to it. The necessity of nominating an efficient Minister, as to which no one professed any doubt, was spoken about for months together, during which period the question bore aspects of mysterious protraction. This was undoubtedly beautifully consistent with the precedents established by the Residency and the attitude it was still decided upon observing. The right of nominating a Minister was given over to the Guicowar; it was hardly any harmful policy; such was the ostensible statement of the Resident; and, although he was conscious of the unsafetiness of the policy, he thought it politic to express his connivance at it. His report states not a word whether he had at any time earnestly advised His Highness to secure the guidance of an able Minister, or insisted upon his having one. It is likely that he may have suggested or agreed to the appointment of Hariba Dada during a crisis when an honest and vigilant Minister was more than ever sorely needed. After a long ordeal of perplexity and contradictory reports was undergone, and after the Chief was well imbued with things "time-honored"—as the Colonel would put it—we hear of the nomination of Gopal Rao Mahiral of Baroda. As we have had to put the Resident's assertions and conduct to rather a minute course of dissection, we also quote his sentence on this point:—

"Last month, Gopalrao Meyral, a highly respected and popular personage, who possesses much weight with the people of Baroda of all ranks and conditions, *became* Minister."

It is worth while asking the somewhat close attention of our readers to the word we have italicised, as also to the bearing of the whole passage, which we shall quote further on, and from which we have extracted this first sentence as one more proof of the perverse character and temper which the Resident has so scrupulously followed. Let us mark how the Resident reflects himself through this passage. The nomination of a Minister having tendencies for reforms, or not having them, is to him a very ordinary affair—at least he would have us to assume so. The relations between Baroda and the British Government are as pure, as wholesome and as faultless as they could be. The State machinery is also in admirable working order. In fact, everything connected with the State is so smooth and satisfactory that a personage so "highly respected and popular" as Gopalrao Mahiral *becomes* a Minister at Baroda. This is so mentioned as if it was a matter of some ordinary routine. It seems it is easy for the Resident to almost invariably remain in "cordial relations" with the Guicowars, as it is easy for a "highly respected and popular personage" (in the perfect sense of these terms as the Colonel would imply) to become a Minister at Baroda. All the inherent drawbacks pertaining to the Durbar, narrated by the Resident as radically unfavorable to any such innovation, here astoundingly vanish themselves. The popular impression which hitherto no one thought of anywise doubting, that the conscientious exertions of a Resident were necessary for the introduction of an element of popularity and respectability, must also now be held groundless. The endeavours of enlightened and public-spirited persons are not at all so hazardous and dangerous as they have generally been understood to be. The Guicowary affairs have been quite susceptible of being overrun by persons not at all abandoned, but virtuous and intelligent. All this and what more that can be advanced is of course simple jest, as so much of what the Resident would have us believe and infer can only be assumed as airy jests, or monstrous parables. A deep and truthful view of the matter of this nomination at once dis-

closes how it is in perfect consistency with the Residency policy now being so slowly disintegrated. That the disintegration, instead of being made as sure and as full as it can be made, is rendered so slow and so unperceivable, is a scandal only a degree less than that of a period which it is high time should be effectually left behind. The degree of importance to be attached to the nomination of Gopalrao Mahiral is quite plain. The admittance of this aged and highly reputed banker is not the admittance of a Wishwanath Mundlik, Nana Moroji, or Nowrosji Furdunji. Moreover, those who know all that transpired before Gopalrao declared himself Minister, know well that his becoming a Minister was not so simple an affair as the Resident's record about it is. Among the incidents in connection with this appointment, one was the persistent refusal of Gopalrao to accept the post, if Hariba Dada were given him as Assistant, as was strongly desired to be done, adn unless he had an Assistant of his own choice.

It remains to be known for certain why did the Resident silently tolerate this protraction, and why the liberal measure demanded by Gopalrao was not accorded until it was so late. Being naturally desirous of knowing the Resident's estimate of the new Minister's practical abilities for the discharge of the exceedingly grave functions thrusted on him, we refer again to the passage we have partly quoted above. Here is the rest of it, the only passage as to what should be expected of Gopalrao:—

"He is anxiously engaged in reconstructing the administration and giving form and organization to the departments of which it is composed, a work requiring great care and discretion when making selections for the appointment of new officials and the retention of existing ones."

Being habituated to a scandalous disregard of his important duties, we are not surprised that he should entirely evade making any statement about Gopalrao's qualifications. Especially when the necessity of rendering this statement has become intense, Colonel Barr totally eludes it; and, as if he

was anxious only to pacify all inquiry, he at once sets upon declaring that Gopalrao is anxiously engaged in carrying out the constantly demanded reforms. It is from Government that we hear something about the merits of Gopalrao :—

"It appears doubtful, from his advanced age and want of administrative experience, whether he will find himself equal to deal with the responsible and burdensome work which his position involves."

If for a moment we deny the plain fact that the Baroda Resident finds himself hopelessly staggered in stating the truth, or the whole truth, about any of the principal questions in which his reputation is involved, we must adopt the fanciful idea that he dwells on the ordinary affairs of a tolerably respectable administration. Otherwise, there was not the slightest justification for him to have observed entire silence as to the qualifications of the new minister; and to say that the work of reform and reorganization has already been earnestly taken up, is to presume it as being so easy and simple an affair as could be attempted and accomplished by any one who might be termed respectable and honest. Even Government, who in so many instances allowed the Residents to conduct themselves very much as they wished, are not satisfied with the Colonel's extremely general and vague declaration. The whole of the 6th para. of the Government Resolution, (dated June, 1871,) may be here quoted :—

"His Excellency in Council cannot altogether accept the favorable view which Colonel Barr takes of the past administration of the Baroda State ; and he is glad to learn that the new Minister 'is anxiously engaged in reconstructing the administration and giving form and organization to the departments of which it is composed.' The nature and results of these measures should be reported for the information of Government. As pointed out by Colonel Barr, Government have not officially such sources of information as will enable them to judge confidently of the working of the existing system. But there seems to be no doubt that considerable reforms are called for in many branches of the administration."

The Gaekwar's subjects must be congratulated upon the

nomination of Gopalrao so far as he is known to be remarkably innocent of mean, intriguing or corrupt disposition. He may be stated as being perfectly saint-like, and possessed of extremely uncongenial temper for meddling with anything that is wicked or vicious. It is only characteristic of Colonel Barr to have us to presume that single as Gopalrao was he was competent to undertake and execute the arduous task imposed on him. He had himself expressed his utter helplessness unless he was assisted by honest and competent executives. It was evidently not the Colonel's interest to make this or such other revelations. He attributes to Gopalrao Mahiral and states about him what we can only ridicule, and what that gentleman, forced as it were into his present position, would not for a moment confess or have us to assume. It is as deplorable as it is provoking that the readers of Colonel Barr's report should have to form impressions and draw conclusions grossly but so justly insulting to his common sense, his dignity, his capacity, and his experience as Resident. Nothing can be more shamefully superficial and misleading than the statement that Gopalrao has undertaken to execute the task of "reconstructing the administration and giving form and organization to the departments of which it is composed." Knowing, as he does so well, at least the "great care and discretion" needed for the performance of this work, he still affects to be blind to what Gopalrao Mahiral is, as considered in relation with the most harassing and difficult adjustment of the state affairs, and impudently ignores the impossibility of achieving any reform worthy of the name, unless the confusion and perplexity of Gopalrao were considerably weakened by the means of competent help derived from no sham but real executives. He would have us to rest supremely content, as he himself undoubtedly is, with the adoption of a single measure carried out in an extremely imperfect and bungling fashion. He whispers not a word as to what a useless and bewildered creature the revered banker would feel himself without proper persons to guide him. Even

weakly, it is the Government who feel anxious about the real state of things :—

"His Excellency in Council has, therefore, in the interest of the Baroda State advised the Durbar to obtain, if possible, the services of an efficient Assistant for the Minister, choosing for this post some younger man of good education and with some experience of modern systems of administration."

The Resident alludes to some of the difficulties or dilemmas involved in the task of reform, but alludes to them not to say whether or not a personage like Gopalrao Mahiral is capable of dealing with them, or to enlighten us as to so many available practical means to meet them, but to credit them to Mulharrao, whom we are not allowed to reach, and who, as the Resident would wish us to expect, is quite free to dispose of such matters according to the best of his ability. We would now quote the whole of the para. under notice, and the singular contrivance by which it is sought to effect an unnatural conversion of the most momentous question will be self-apparent :—

Last month, Gopalrao Mahiral, a highly respected and popular personage, who possesses much weight with the people of Baroda of all ranks and conditions, became Minister. He is anxiously engaged in reconstructing the administration, and giving form and organization to the departments of which it is composed, a work requiring great care and discretion, when making selections for the appointment of new officials and the retention of existing ones; for, according to invariable custom, no sooner does a Gaekwar succeed to power than all who were or pretended to be of his party previously, press to have all connected with his predecessor's rule discarded indiscriminately, and clamour for preferment for themselves in their stead. In this respect the position of His Highness Mulharrao is one of peculiar embarrassment. He feels himself bound to reward all who in any degree sympathised with him, or even expressed sympathy for him during the life of his late brother, and not only do they place a very exorbitant estimate on the services they parade, for which they expect proportionately exorbitant rewards, but many of them aspire to places of trust and responsibility for which, by social position, by ignorance, and by inexperience, they are totally disqualified. Yet Mulharrao shrinks from saying no to their appeals. Another difficulty is added by the possibility of a posthumous heir being born, for this has given

rise to three parties in the Durbar—one in open support of the Ranee, who may become mother of an heir to the Principality; another in equally open support of His Highness Mulharrao; and a third, who, in the language of Macaulay, may be termed Trimmers, who try to please both sides, with the desire to have the favor of the one which may eventually win.

Thus, after recording in a few lines the most serious event, we are summarily carried away to other matters, or rather an aspect is endeavoured to be given to a state of things which is not at all the real or genuine aspect. It is needless to inquire into the motive underlying such highly edifying political art. We have had quite a surfeit of this sort of thing, more than enough to excite our disgust. As we have been used on Colonel Barr's hands to wholesale modifications in his allusions even to the most violent forms of evil, we can say very little more than that his narration of the so-called claims and claimants is an index to a much more depraved state of things than that he has chosen to acquaint us with. He has striven to paint a pleasant exterior, and may be calculated to have succeeded with uninformed or half-informed people. The evil that peereth in the agreeable garb was a subject with which the Chief would not have had to do much, but for the want of that much-needed help which could have been most satisfactorily rendered had only the British representative willed so. As it was, the distribution of extensive rewards and numberless adjustments in public and private services entirely depended on the inexperience and weak intellect of the Chief and the still more unreliable and deleterious influences of the courtiers. People succeeded in obtaining rewards and fixed allowances out of all proportions with their merits and claims, and the different ranks were uselessly encumbered with highly paid worthless menials. Nor were matters in any way better with those on whom great dignities were conferred in conjunction with fabulous salaries. It would scarcely be justifiable to cast reprehensions on the Chief; for, according to his intuition and the counsels of those who were permitted to guide him, he felt the necessity to take certain actions, and he took those actions which

could not be expected to be superior to the lights he was so well known to possess.

We cannot fix upon a more moderate analogy for the Chief than that of an engine or an irrational creature let adrift without the requisite controlling power. The acceptance of Ministership by Gopalrao the Resident takes as the achievement of a measure of the highest importance; whereas in reality it is a snare, a delusion, a downright mockery. His nomination need not be cavilled at, even if it be for one single reason that his connection with the Durbar has been creative of a certain amount of essential prestige of which this most debased political constitution was utterly devoid. But in the absence of every sincere and enthusiastic and even dictative co-operation of the British Government, Gopalrao must content himself with remaining a contemptible cypher, or, as one of exceedingly pious and tolerant disposition, soon find himself plunged into unendurable troubles. For, what can be gathered from recent information, it is not this venerable old gentleman who is able to influence the Chief, nor Bhow Khidkur, the rare individual of solid experience and ability, nor even educated gentlemen like Mr. Putwurnun; but it is yet the day of procurers, harpies, and incapables.*

When the above was in the Press, we learnt from the daily journals that Government have permitted the Deputy Registrar of the High Court, Mr. Khunderao Chimunrao Bhidurker, to act as Assistant to the Minister. Not many days have elapsed since the publication of this intelligence, when we are informed that 'on mature consideration that official has de-

* We are furnished with the following information in one of the communications recently received by us from Baroda :—" Certain private individuals here are able to exercise much greater authority than the Minister himself. We have also partly the reign of women. Balwuntrao Rabharkur, who was only yesterday a petty shop-keeper, and who has but just learnt to indite his signature, is at present the all-in-all at Baroda, and exercises undisputed and most prejudicial control over every Department of the State. Corruption is rampant, and most openly resorted to. There is no responsible man; Gopalrao Mahiral being Minister only in name. All Baroda has come to know that the real Minister is Rabharkur. Appeals made even against the decisions of Gopalrao are heard and disposed of by him! Every complaint to the Maharajah is referred to him, and no one can see His Highness except through this man. Anything can be done through the intercession of certain *Baees*, who are at liberty to do all to enrich themselves, and so they have industriously set upon doing. Those who are parents of pretty young girls are placed in all affluent position. Bhow Khidkur, whom all Baroda wish to see Deputy to the Minister,

clined to accept the Guicowar's offer,' which would have conferred on Mr. Khunderao a salary of Rs. 2,000, besides a bonus of Rs. 30,000 to be immediately paid as loss that might be supposed as incurred by him in leaving Government service.

It must be earnestly trusted that the Supreme authorities will energetically endeavour to probe the whole truth concerning the origin of this proposal and its startling and lamentable abandonment. In the two items of bare news published by the local journals, an important history, comprising certain very serious points anent the political authorities and the Bombay Government, is unmistakeably involved. Even considering the very remote, and certainly not exceedingly probable, chance of Mr. Khunderao Chimunrao being elevated to a Judgeship of the High Court, or considering the less improbable chance of his becoming a Registrar of the same Court, there was still, in our opinion, every inducement for that gentleman to accept the Deputy Ministership, not only for its extreme personal lucrativeness—as he had every chance of obtaining the Ministership itself, but for the far more extended usefulness he could have shown at Baroda, which he had not the least chance of doing elsewhere—the public good to be done being of the rarest possible character. Moreover, Government are reported to have agreed to take him back into their service, in case he was in any way compelled to resign the proposed post. But we strongly hold that this could not be sufficient guarantee for Mr. Khunderao to accept an appointment at Baroda with any feeling of encouragement, ease, or safety, knowing as we do, the dark deeds for

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has been discarded, for all practical purposes, by the contrivances of Roharkur, Hariba Dada, and others. He has resigned and refuses to rejoin, notwithstanding the persuasions of the Sirdars. Gowind Rao is now unfortunately left alone, and efforts are made to make Roharkur Minister. If this happens, there is sure to be universal discontent, and the case would be worse than that of Bhow Sindhia. It is superfluous for me to say anything about Colonel Barr, he is a *real* bar to all reform at Baroda. There are more than half a dozen persons going to him with the airs of a Minister, and he hears them all. When he speaks of reforms being attempted at Baroda, I think he must be speaking to a child. He thus only excites in us wrath and ridicule, matters are even worse than they were in the time of Khunderao. Every means is employed to divert the Maharaj's attention to all sorts of sensual pleasures, and those who procure these for him, and are fit to procure them, have almost alone monopolised all the authority and resources of the State." . . . . . .

which persons at Baroda have every aptitude. It must be stated with due deference to Government that this is one of the several grave occurrences as regards which they have to clear up their character. They are bound to inform the public, whether with a full sense of disinterestedness and precaution they adopted all such measures as would warrant one of their officials to serve the Guicowar. If they were not able to do this, the public require to be tolerably satisfied as to why they were unable to do it. If they do not thus condescend, we can only conclude that in practice they are reverse to their professions, weak as they are.

It is not necessary to discuss whether Mr. Khunderao was the best man that could be had for Baroda. Suffice it to state that, had he been duly nominated, there were some special circumstances to render him successful. He was closely related with Mr. Gopalrao Mahiral, who had thorough confidence in his abilities and desire for working out improvements. Whereas His Highness Mulharrao at least openly expressed great willingness to engage him. It is mortifying to find that so promising a step was only taken to be in the same breath abandoned. It was the first and most important step, not dissimilar to the one the writer of this pamphlet strongly and confidently suggested at the installation of His Highness,* which ought to have been many months ago thought of and adopted.

Had Government done all that we cannot but suppose was in their power to implant the above measure, they would have afforded the cheering spectacle of having done something substantial to lessen the burden of omissions and commissions that has been for years lying on them. For, in express-

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* "If the Durbar is to have a Prime Minister virtually of its own selection, "justice should be done to the genuine wishes and future career of His Highness "and to his numerous subjects, by the Government of Bombay deputing either one "of their best native officials, or one of the best educated native gentlemen out of "private circles, who may be as public-spirited as he may be well trained and "tempered by worldly experience, as a joint Minister to the State. Not only is "such an officer urgently necessary to counteract the very powerful opposite "element, but the principal departments of the State should also be similarly "officered."—*Extracted from the Author's Letter to the 'Star of India,' dated 6th Jan.* 1871.

ing the extreme desirability of providing the Guicowar with an efficient official, Government allowed us to conclude that they were at least one step in advance of the Resident. But we deplore to have to very gravely doubt whether in practice they have proved themselves so. It would be a great relief to learn that they gave their heart to the affair much more than they would give to it if it was merely a pleasant formality. For the present, with the best intentions that we can have for the ruling powers, the only inference to be drawn is that they have most lamentably failed to extricate themselves from the miserable groove in which they have buried themselves for so many years. The gratuitous, stultifying and scandalous error made in the relinquishment of the power of veto should have been promptly remedied on the release of Mulharrao by the British Government. To the urgency of this reparation, to which the Resident can afford only to turn blind, we have the testimony of Government themselves: "With regard to the appointment of Gopalrao Mahiral *Government have raised no objection*, as he bears high character, and appears to be much esteemed by the people of Baroda." We have already seen that Government had completely abandoned their 'right of objection' to the selection of a Minister by the Guicowar, and we have had no declaration to the effect that since Mulharrao became king, any alteration was made in this agreement. Unless, then, they had resented in the matter of this demeaning abdication, or they began to feel it inconvenient on account of some reason or other, they could not have acted upon and expressed their right of objection as is evidenced by their very expressions quoted above. Many instances of this sort can be produced to show that the British Government, if they wish, can initiate and identify themselves with a number of practical measures calculated to appreciably check the misgovernment of the State. They would have gained the decided approbation of the public, had they assumed all the practicable functions of a guardian soon after Mulharrao's death. In assuming this philanthropic and active spirit it

was not at all necessary to consider the new Rajah a mere cypher; he could have enjoyed authority and other means to the utmost of his wishes and capabilities. To have fully encouraged Mr. Khunderao, and to have done all to render him secure at Baroda, was not one-tenth of the interference Government were fully warranted to exercise. If they could have, with every justice, exercised this much of intervention, they could have as well exercised—and it was absolutely imperative to have exercised intervention to its fullest possible extent. The exact information as to what were the essential concessions which needed to be made and were made by the British Government, while their existence was endangered in 1857, is not just now within our reach. But this much is quite plain that the further concession made about ten years later could not have the remotest connection with the old crisis. And, as we have above very amply illustrated, Khunderao's demise and Mulharrao's release brought about a full and indisputed revolution in mutual privileges and obligations. The devisement and adoption of schèmes of the very first importance could not apparently be creative of any disaffection worth while apprehending. Had anything of this kind been thought of and effected, there was every likelihood of a far better regulation of the Guicowar's revenues and a vast improvement in both the general tone of his forces and administration, whilst the Chief could have been taught to acknowledge the unquestionable benefits of subordinating himself to civilizing influences, and to look upon the Paramount Power with greater awe than ever. It is not at all to be any way contended that the Government of the country should adopt every means by which their position can be strengthened by an improved alliance with their allies and feudatories. But, as it has so repeatedly occurred, there is every probability of important sacrifices being abused under the disguise of political exigencies. To exert disinterestedly and earnestly to save great resources from being discredited and destroyed by an extremely limited though all-powerful set of avaricious devils, must in the long run help to produce a

more willing and stronger sort of intimacy desirable for political stability. The policy of devising cautious, silent and continuous efforts to reform the *personale* of the Durbar, and to seek the restrainment of the Chief, as much as practicable, from precipitous courses of absolute decay and degradation, is a more faithful and wiser and more honorable policy, than the policy of accustoming him to a series of unseemly weaknesses on the part of a Paramount Power fully in a position to obtain practical recognition of the humanizing and more acceptable effects of moral superiority. If the doctrine of permitting the oppression and depression of millions in fiercest forms, so that a handful of imbeciles or tyrants may be free to exercise every conceivable wickedness and infamy, was practised by a power less civilized and less humane than the British, which presents to us this doctrine in an unmistakeable and confirmatory shape, as the only pet offspring of its representative institution at Baroda, we should not for a moment consider the doctrine as the result of any political sagacity or foresightedness in the remotest degree, but the result of intrinsically corrupt nature more debased by constant contact with the vilest of vile associations. And yet it is this kind of doctrine which the Bombay Government have almost consistently countenanced for a long series of years, and which, whilst not having achieved any security or well-being in any degree, has served only to keep in good humour the most abject class of wealthy and illiterate nobility and their underlings.

With every sincere wish to be most respectful towards the existing Government, the passing of a heavy public censure on them must be deemed unavoidable. The better-half of one of the most fertile and otherwise consequential provinces has been left more than half a century back owing to persistent adherence to a miserably indifferent and weak policy. It is needless to explain the details of the deplorable anomalies thus created and perpetuated because of the interlacement and conterminousness of the Guicowar's territories in the British province of Gujerat. Had the policy

pursued by Government been no other than that which was practicable and desirable, the symptoms and actions on their side would have been quite different from those that have transpired. Even if they were haunted by any false notions of unbecoming inconsistency or compromise, Khunderao's death had suppressed every imaginable ground for the same. It was an event which held out special inducements for a decided conversion of their temper and attitude, and for giving free vent to a keen sense of contempt and indignation, tempered by diplomatic virtue and wisdom. They would not have authorized the succession of Mulharrao as so easy a matter as they took it to be. They would have courageously undertaken the task of revising treaties and engagements with a view to secure certain powers of intervention, which the altered circumstances rendered absolutely necessary, and which the new Chief was then fresh and grateful enough to concede most cheerfully. It was then incumbent on them, beyond any doubt, to seek the transference of the Resident, even if he was more or less willing to accept the programme of changes and reforms, which was then needed to be drawn up. It was a feat at once so noble, so vivifying, so propitious that, had it been performed, it would have remained unsurpassed by any other *coup de main* of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald's administration. The season for intervention in this case was invaluable and rare, because it was neither suggested nor necessitated by any narrow or party interests. But this badly needed action was essential on account of the more direct and more active intervention which shall be deemed unavoidable any day, or some time hence. It cannot be too long before the period sets in, when the almost wholesale establishment of English machinery of administration will engage the serious attention of the Paramount Power. But the opportunity of achieving a much more glorious work,—much more glorious because of the far greater purity and unselfishness of the motives dictating it, has been, we fear, in a great measure lost, for, the political authorities have so eggregiously, and alas! so deliberately, failed to strike the iron whilst it was

hot. There is yet time to make strong and uncompromising endeavours to save the Chief from being fast made a total wreck, both morally and physically, and to smoothen as much as possible the difficulties in store for the British Government. They can still act most praiseworthily, most humanely, most nobly. May they yet act thus and induce in us forgetfulness of their past behaviour. Let the Resident be pitied and told to retire. It is such an official as bears the stamp of 'Hope the historical' that should be promptly sent to Baroda. However bitterly, however incessantly we had to inveigh against him as the Collector, Magistrate and Municipal President of Surat, no such incidents can prevent us from acknowledging his rare capacity. It is this stubborn, involved and indefatigable character that is required at Baroda, and he cannot be so well required elsewhere. It is he who would dip in that huge, inexpressibly abominable cesspool, and draw out much, if not the whole, of the fetid mire. He would be to some great extent an effectual application to the sore that festers in its almost last stages. It is no doubt to be regretted that no such idea as the deputation of an officer like him should have struck the responsible quarters in time. But it may be believed it is yet not too late. Such extreme proclivities as he is reported to possess would, with certain restraints placed on them, probably prove a match to that impenetrable labyrinth of vice and intrigue. The radical cure we so justly pant after, may, in some great measure, be secured if he is posted there with discretionary powers, and is gradually relieved by well educated and well trained native officers to whom the Paramount Power would be bound to give every guarantee, if they acted only conscientiously, and exacted from the Chief all that could with undoubted fairness be exacted from him. The Residents of Colonel Wallace's contemptibly orthodox school being hopelessly committed to a low and inhumane form of policy, it would be utterly futile to expect them as an instrument for effecting any fundamental change that is incontestably needed. The first and most essential duty, in neglecting or shrinking from which Govern-

ment stand convicted of a great and inexcusable wrong, is to have the right man in the right place, and we may be sure that the policy which cannot be too much denounced will of itself crumble into pieces. To ignore this urgent call is to tutor the Chief in the ways of ignorant self-conceit and contumacy, not the slightest inkling for which he possessed on leaving the prison. In spite of the debauched tone of things observable in so many quarters, we must venture to state that the reputation of Government, in one of the most vital points, is at stake. At any rate they must prove themselves true to their mission, and perform the daring stroke which they honorably could not and should not avoid to perform. With the liberal and holy impulses of a highly civilized Paramount Power, and in the interests of millions who, in such immediate contiguity with a fellow people in the employment of a much happier and loftier state of existence, have been so long doomed to the miseries and darkness of barbarism, might we not with perfect justice expect the British Government to prevent the final collapse of this great Native State by an improved indigenous agency of administration? They can scarcely aspire after a more magnanimous and a more philanthropic achievement, which might go far to wipe off the blot resting on them. For, then, it will not be said that, like the spider in his web, they contentedly and silently waited until the dissolution of the State was over, and it fell a prey in their hands to be plenteously fed upon by England's sons, as has been historically so often the case. It is hardly necessary to inquire whether or not this and other sinister motives have actually inspired and kept intact the British policy we have criticised. It would suffice to state that, if a failure is any day to take place in the Native dynasty at Baroda, even temporarily, no circumstances can more favor or accelerate such an end than those we have above analysed. It must be admitted that the introduction of reforms will then be ensured. But will not that be so side by side with the gratification of British selfishness? No such prospects could make any atonement for the exces-

sively prolonged toleration of a frightful type of disorganization, the effects of which could have been considerably mitigated. No moral, physical or political law can at any time or on any account deliberately permit the flourishment and progression of evils needlessly and wickedly inflicted upon mankind. To wink at such evils, and even to unintentionally and indirectly encourage them, is the grossest political crime and immorality.

We must now proceed to conclude this our faulty and humble, yet earnest task. We have far out-run the space allotted to us, but for which we should have also depicted the hollowness of the profession of the political authorities regarding the introduction of education in the city of Baroda, or the Dabhoy Tramway scheme, which, indeed, has been promptly attended to for reasons which shrewd readers will not fail to guess at once. These comparatively petty matters, however, do not in the remotest degree affect our main argument. With none of the disinterested and impartial public it is possible that our remonstrances and exposure will ever be misunderstood, and it is to be trusted that all the parties concerned will take them in proper spirit. We cannot but feel indignant and grieved at the almost silent attitude which the Public Press has taken itself to, when there are such plain and strong symptoms of another deeply disgraceful and disastrous regime being acquiesced in. We think we have said sufficient to enable our readers to conclude how very flagrantly Government have forgotten themselves. Their callousness and their connivance are of such a nature and extent as to deserve much harsher strictures than we have thought proper to make. Their lofty dignity and our own humble position must considerably moderate our observations against them. We may yet, with all deference, be anxious to know, whether they will pay heed to this sincere public protest, which their growing and unseemly incapacity has necessitated. What a blessed day for millions if they can be persuaded to consult seriously and practically their own consciences and the high and holy principles of their own religion! Will they condescend

to reflect upon the time lost since the Court of Directors sent them despatches of sharp rebukes? Will they be good enough to tell us what progress since then they have had Baroda to make in the simplest forms of civilization and general morality? They could have no answer to give which would in the least be satisfying. In one of the despatches above alluded to, the Court of Directors declared their intentions to place the Baroda State under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Government—intentions which were, however, not carried out. The ground for this declaration was the excessive corruption then prevalent among certain Government officials. We extract below portions of the minutes of the Court of Directors, not with the object of showing or even insinuating that the evil still exists, but to beseech the authorities concerned to consider that, if only one single cause like the above was sufficient to exasperate the Court of Directors, what will now be the feeling of the Home Government when they are fully and faithfully apprised of the history of the false and degenerate policy, which has done so much to tarnish the reputation of the British Government, and indefinitely consigned one of the most splendid Native States in India to political, moral and material degradation of an intolerant nature.* We have no room to discuss here whether the measure of depriving the Bombay Government

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* *Extract from the Court of Directors' Despatch dated 20th April* 1853.

With respect to one of these Native Courts, that of Baroda, so much has been disclosed in recent transactions of the corruption prevalent there, and of the existence of secret communications for evil purposes with persons at Bombay, including some of the subordinate officers in the Government Offices, to which the near neighbourhood of the two cities affords great facility, that we have under our consideration a step, for which many reasons exist, namely, that of placing the Resident at the Guikwar's Court, and the political relations with his territories, under the direct superintendence of the Supreme Government of India.

Extract from the Court of Directors' Despotch dated 8th June 1853.

Although it is said that scarcely any part of the Bombay territories, or of the Native States connected with the Bombay Government, is free from this injurious belief, the place where it appears to be strongest, and to exist in the worst form, is Baroda; and that place also has furnished by far the greatest number of incidents, which have in various ways more or less tended to confirm an impression so pernicious to the public, and so dishonouring to British rule.

We are convinced that we cannot deal so effective a blow at this belief, which, however groundless in general, cannot but be most injurious to the honour and interests of the British Government, as by transferring the control of our relations with the Guikwar State from the Government of the Subordinate Presidency to

of their present control over the State of Baroda is in any degree comparable with those pointed out by us, as respecting expediency or efficacy. We recall the proposal of 1853 both to respectfully warn the Bombay Government and to provoke a vigorous canvass of the suggestion that the supreme authorities should lose not a moment to order a stern and careful inquiry into the Baroda affairs, which are, either purposely or negligently, suffered to descend to the uttermost depths of degeneracy. It is not our purpose to insinuate that the Baroda State from time to time has been guilty of corrupting officials by enormous gifts and other offerings. Even were there any grounds for the circulation of rumours to this effect, it is beyond our province to inquire into them. We are certainly entitled to stigmatise the conduct and attitude of the political authorities in the strongest possible terms, but impute no undue motive to them or to parties in connection with them. But such clearances as this must cease to produce in us the gratification that, after all, matters are not very bad. They *are* very bad, and incorrigibly bad and disgraceful; and for the sake of all that is pure and exalted in human nature, and for the sake of deep reverence which we still can feel for it, and scorn and wrath for all that is its opposite, let such impolitic, unhumane and degraded matters be mended, and the great Native State, for whose well-being and preservation we cannot express sufficient anxiety, be suffered and led to enter the course of civilization, prosperity, success, and renown.—*Amen.*

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the Governor General of India in Council; and we communicated our view of this subject to the Government of Bombay in the concluding paragraph of our Despatch above referred to as follows :—

"We should wish that intimation should be conveyed to the Native Courts, which are in any way dependent upon, or connected with, the presidency of Bombay, that whatever power of control or interference we have a right to exercise with them, will be exerted to the utmost for the purpose of bringing to punishment any of their Ministers or servants, who may hereafter be found to have been implicated in transactions of this description."

There can never exist between the seat of your Government and the capital of the Guikwar the same degree of intercourse that must always exist between Bombay and Baroda. The dependents of the Guikwar will not have relations and connexions resident in your neighbourhood, and employed in your offices; and the only link between your Government and his Durbar will be your duly constituted Resident at Baroda.

GLEANINGS FROM MARATHA CHRONICLES.

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It is well-known, that the standard (1) history of the Marathas by Captain James Grant Duff is based, to a considerable extent, on Maratha Bakhars or chronicles and other original papers and documents, to which the author had access. Of several of these, Grant Duff had copies made, which, he tells us (2) in his history, were deposited by him with the Literary Society of Bombay. This was certainly the most appropriate thing to do at that time, so as to provide facilities for students of Maratha History to examine for themselves the original materials which Grant Duff had worked up into his book. Unfortunately, however, the Literary Society has long ceased to exist. And Grant Duff's Manuscripts cannot now be traced anywhere. I have had inquiries and search made in the library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which is the successor of the Literary Society. But the Manuscripts are not in that library, and nothing on the records of either Society now available affords any clue to their present whereabouts. An impression has existed for several years past in some quarters,(3) that the Manuscripts in question were burnt, with the knowledge, if not under the orders, of Grant Duff himself. I have never, however, been able to as-

(1) See *inter alia* Journal Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society Vol. IX. pp vi, ix, xxxiii and Vol. X. p. 120.

(2) See the foot notes to his History *passim*.

(3) See *inter alia* Vividhajnanavistara Vol. VIII. p 213, Vol. IX. [illegible]; A review of Grant Duff's History of the Marathas by a student of the Poona College (now Rav Bahadur Nilkanth Janardan Kirtane.) p. 9 *et seq*. I am told that no such impression has existed at Satara where Grant Duff was officially employed.

certain the basis on which this impression is founded. (4) And the story itself is so improbable, and so much like the stories about the burning of papers and documents by the Inam Commission, that it does not deserve any further consideration. It must have originally arisen probably when it was ascertained, that the Manuscripts were not on the shelves of the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Some of these documents, however, have within the last ten or twelve years become accessible to the Marathi reader in print. And with these, there have also been published some others, which apparently were not before Grant Duff. An examination of both these groups of documents discloses sundry passages of interest in connection with Maratha History, although it did not fall within the scope of Grant Duff's work to cast any except a very incidental and hurried glance at them, and that, too, only at some of them. Grant Duff's work devotes itself mainly, if one may not even say exclusively, to the purely political history of the Marathas. Their social and religious progress receives only a very occasional and very indirect notice in its pages. It is true, that even in the original documents above alluded to, the various political transactions of the periods to which they respectively relate form

(4) The basis alleged in the Review mentioned in note (2) is certainly very unsubstantial, and not to be implicitly relied on, under the circumstances. A certain "Southern Commissioner" is also mentioned as having had some share in the destruction of the Mss. The name of the gentleman who gave the information on which this story is based is mentioned in the second edition of the Review p. 28. But I do not see that that improves matters very much. Mr. Kirtane himself has in his second edition (p. 95-7.) very properly and candidly expressed his disbelief in the story, together with the grounds for his disbelief. It is, perhaps, worthy of note in this connexion, that it appears from Sir H. Elliott's History of India by Prof. Dowson [illegible] VII. pp. VI and 210, that another of Grant Duff's Mss—a translation of a Musulman original—is also not now forthcoming.

almost exclusively the subject-matter of the narrative. (5) Still, when these original documents are before us, the incidental references contained in them to social and religious matters are even now capable of being utilized, while in the case of the Manuscripts that are lost, this is necessarily not the case. And for the reasons stated, we cannot now have access even at second-hand to such references as may have been contained in them. Considering that taken altogether, the light thrown on the social and religious history of the Marathas by the documents now available is not very plentiful, but comes, so to say, in only scattered rays, it is a subject of just regret, that even the chance of adding to it an extra ray here and there is now foreclosed by the loss of Grant Duff's Manuscripts. In default of them, however, it is proposed in the present paper, to gather together to a focus such of these scattered rays as may be obtained from the papers and documents which have, within the last few years, been made generally accessible in print, in the pages of the Vividhajnânavistâra, of the Kâyastha Prabhûnchyâ Itihâsâchîn Sâdhanen, and above all in those of the Kávyetihàsa Sangraha. (6)

The first point of interest, then, to be noted here is the attitude of the State towards the social and religious concerns of

(5) In Sir H. Elliott's History of India by Prof. Dowson Vol. I. pp XIX-XXI, one may read some very bitter, but not, I fear, unfounded complaints, about the character of the chronicles written by Hindu writers which Sir H. Elliott had to examine.

(6) These are the principal sources. Some others have also been utilised, as will be seen later on. The Bakhar, a translation of which is contained in Prof. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State Papers Vol. I, must, it seems to me, have been in some parts mistranslated, and in all abridged in the translation. The original is hardly likely, for instance, to have spoken of a night darker than Sivâji's heart. (See p. 15)—a phrase which one would not expect to occur in relation to Sivâji in a Maratha Bakhar deposited in Râyagad.

the people. Here we are enabled to go back to the very beginnings of Maratha power, to the system established by its great founder. And it is to be remarked, that in spite of the unfavourable conditions then existing, in spite of the all-engrossing militarism of the day, (7) *Sivaji* found time to apply his genius to the elaboration of a regular system of Civil Administration (8), in a manner to which we find almost no parallel throughout the whole period of Maratha History, except during the règime of that excellent Peshva, the elder Mádhavrav. (9) One principal feature of *Sivaji*'s system consisted in the creation of a Cabinet Council—the famous Ashta Pradhâna—or eight Ministers. (10) And one of these eight was known as Panditrav. (11). His functions, like those of the other

(7) Bernier in his Travels (see new edition in Constable's Oriental Miscellany pp. 220-1) and Ovington in his Voyage to Surat (pp 189-228) afford some indication about the large armies maintained in those days, and the expenses which their maintenance entailed.

(8) Grant Duff Vol. I, p. 223 *et seq.*

(9) See about him Grant Duff Vol. II, p. 208 *st seq.* and compare Forrest's Bombay Selections Vol. I, p.p. 250; Fryer's Travels pp. 79,146

(10) See Grant Duff Vol. I, p. 235 *et seq.* comp. Chitragupta's Life of Sivaji p. 103; Sabhâsad's Ditto p. 69.; and Vividhajnanavistara Vol. XIII. p. 238 *et seq.*; Forrest's Selections pp. 14,80.

(11) There is some diversity in the various accounts contained in our authorities about the institution of the Panditrav's office. The Maratha Samrajya Bakhar (p. 28) says, that it was established some little time after Sivaji's plunder of Surat, in order to provide an officer who would look after the grants made to Brahmans with a view to the preservation of virtue and justice in the kingdom. Malhar Ramrav Chitnis seems to agree with this (See Vividhajnanavistara, vol. X, p. 8) and to show that all Sivaji's administrative arrangements took shape at that time. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (p. 23) says that the title of Panditrav was bestowed on Raghunath Pandit, when he was appointed as a fit and proper person for the negociations with Mirza Raja Jayasing—an appointment which M. R. Chitnis also mentions. Chitragupta in his life (p. 105) and Gupte the author of the Bhonsle Bakhar (p. 10) refer the institution of the office to the time of the

Ministers and high officers, are stated in a Note or Memorandum which purports to be written on the 13th of Jyeshtha Vadya, Tuesday, of the first year of the era of the Installation. (A. D. 1674.) (12) It states that the Panditrav's duties are to exercise all the ecclesiastical powers of the State, and to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and is not in accordance with the religious law. He is to receive learned persons on behalf of the State and countersign all documents that may issue from the Sovereign relating to Achâra, Vyavahâra, and Prâyaschitta, that is to say, rules of conduct, civil and criminal law, and penances—(13) the three departments of the Dharma-sâstra. He is also to look after the performance of Sântis (14) and other ceremonials and the distribution of the royal bounty. It is further stated in the Life of Sivaji written by Malhar Ramrav Chitnis, that the scheme of the cabinet and its functions was settled by Sivâji in conformity with previous practice and tradition. (15)

In an Ajnâpatra, or Rescript, bearing date Mârgasîrsha Sûdha 4th, Thursday, of the forty-second year of the installation era (1716 A. D.) issued by Râjâ Shambhu Chhatrapati of

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Installation. See further as to the Panditrav's functions, M. R. Chitnis's Rajaniti, pp. 10, 30, and compare Malcolm's Central India Vol. II. p. 429; and Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 214 (*Quære* what is the meaning of Jeiram Bopput there mentioned? Can it be a proper name Jayarâm Bapat?). The Dhavadasi Bakhar mentions the Panditrav in connexion with the Svami's funeral ceremonies.

(12) Letters, memoranda &c. (published in the Kavyetihasa Sangraha) p. 357.

(13) See West and Bühler's Hindu Law p. 13.

(14) See Mandlik's Hindu law. Intr. p. XXXII.

(15) Vividhajnana Vistâra Vol. XIII. pp. 201, 238; see also Sabhasad's Life of Sivaji p. 69. At p. 725 of Mr. Forrest's Bombay Selections Vol. I. is a translation of an essay by a Muhammadan writer of the last century, who alleges that Sivaji borrowed his scheme from the Musulmans. He does not mention any grounds for his statement.

Kolhàpur, it is said that it is among the duties of a king of men to destroy any tendency towards impiety, and to increase piety, among his subjects, and thus to acquire eternal happiness in the life to come. (16) Accordingly it is laid down, (17) that heretical opinions antagonistic to religion, should not by any means be allowed to prevail in the kingdom, and if perchance they should be found to have manifested themselves anywhere, the matter should be inquired into personally, that is to say, I understand, by the Minister himself to whom the order is directed, and due punishment should be inflicted, so that no one else may join in the evil courses, and they may ultimately be altogether stopped.

It would thus appear, that the Maratha Rajas considered it their right, or rather their duty, to regulate the religious affairs of their subjects, although it is to be remarked, that the Minister appointed for the purpose of attending to this part of the Raja's duties was in fact always a Brahman, as indeed might naturally be expected. It further appears, that these duties were practically enforced, and did not exhaust themselves in being committed to paper. We find, for instance, that in the reign of Sambhâji, the son and successor of Sivâji, the favourite "Kabji." (18) Kalushà, among his other high crimes and mis-demeanours, induced the King, against the advice and

(16) V. J. Vistâra Vol. V. p. 194.

(17) Ditto p. 91 and comp. Letters &c., (K. I. Sangraha) p. 9.

(18) The writer of the note at Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. p. 338 seems to be puzzled by this word; but it is, of course, equivalent to kab or kavi *plus* the honorfic "ji." The Bhonsle Bakhar (p. 14) and M. R. Chitnis's Life of Sambhaji (p. 7) and the Sri Siva Kâvya canto. VI. st. 21 suggest that Kalusha was an emissary of Aurangzeb. See also Forbes Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 462. The Muhammadan account, summarized in Dowson's Elliott (*loc cit*) does not support this suggestion; while it connects Kabji with the Brahman (Kasipant) in whose charge Sambhaji had been left by Sivaji on his flight from Delhi.

remonstrance of the responsible Minister Panditrav, to order Prâyaschittas or penances, to be performed by eminent Brahmins, " masters of six Shâstràs." (19) What offences or shortcomings were alleged for justifying these orders, the document before us does not state, and there is no other source of information on the subject known to me.

In the time of Shàhu again, when Balaji Bajirao was Peshvá, the State had to deal with a dispute even then of long-standing between the Brahmans and Prabhus. (20) The dispute appears to have commenced as early as the days of Sivàji, (21) and the settlement then arrived at was, apparently, adhered to during the reigns of Sambhaji and Rajaram, and the greater part of the reign of Shahu himself. Towards the latter end of Shahu's reign, however, the dispute was rekindled, as the Prabhus were much in favour with Shahu, as they had been with Siváji. (22) The Brahmans of the day are charged, in the Prabhu Chronicles, with having interpolated new verses into old Puranic and other books like the Sahyadri Khanda, for the purpose of lowering the status of the Prabhu caste. The disputes having come before Balaji Bajirao, the Peshva, he wrote to Shahu, recommending that the old practice should be adhered to, that the new quarrels raised by the Brahmans should be discountenanced, and that they should be given final and clear orders in the matter. Shahu (23) thereupon sent an order to all the Brahmans of Khande and Mahuli (on the banks of the river Krishna) ordering that they should continue

(19) Marathi Sâmrâjyàchi Bakhar p. 59.

(20) This is the correct mode of spelling the name of the caste as claimed by themselves. The change to Parohu (corrupted by Anglo-Indians to Purvoe) they attribute to jealousy. See Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar p. 6.

(21) See K. P. Bakhar (K. P. I. S) pp. 10-2.

(22) See. Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 123.

(23) See K. P. Bakar (K. P. I. S.) pp. 12,17.

to perform all ceremonies, funeral and other, as the same had been theretofore performed, during the règime of the Bijapur Emperors, (24) and also in the time of Sivaji, Sambhaji, Rajaram and Tarabai, and in the early days of the then current reign. They were directed " not to do anything new, not to break anything old." At the same time with this order of the Sovereign, the Panditrav Raghunath appears also to have addressed a communication to the Brahmans aforesaid, reciting briefly the order made by Shahu, and adding that the old practice should be revived. (25) We learn, however, that although these orders were sent, the disputes were not in fact settled, as the Pratinidhi Jagjivanrav Pandit, and his agent Yamaji, who were managing all affairs at Satara on behalf of Shahu, would not accept the settlement, seeing that Shahu's end was approaching. Subsequently Shahu died, as was expected, and Balaji Bajirav immediately placed both the Pratinidhi and his agent Yamaji (26) in prison, and ordered (27) the old practice as regards ceremonies among Prabhu families to be resumed. That practice, then, continued undisturbed until the end of the administration of Madhavrav and the beginning of that of Narayanrav.

Many years after this, (28) in the days of the Peshva

(24) It seems to follow from this, that the Musalman Rajas had also dealt with the questions between these two castes.

(25) See K. P. Bakar (K. P. I. S.) pp. 12-3 where the letters are set out at length.

(26) See Grant Duff Vol. II. pp. 17, 32.

(27) Grant Duff Vol II. p. 35. The Panipat Bakhar of Raghunath Yadav states (p. 7) that Shahu on his death bed, made over the whole kingdom to Balaji Bajirav.

(28) See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 76. A similar question arose long afterwards in connection with the case of Sripat Seshadri—a brother of the late Rev. Narayan Seshadri—in which the late enlightened Prof. Bal Gangadhar Shastri is understood to have taken a prominent part which mortally offended the orthodoxy of his day.

Savai Madhavrav, a Brahman, we learn, named Narhari Ranalekar became yavanamaya and bhrashta, which I understand to mean, converted to Muhammadanism and fallen off from Hinduism. He was then taken back into the fold by certain Brahmans of Paithana, although, as the Peshva's order says, this was an unwarrantable proceeding. His re-admission led to a split in the Brahman community of the place; and then an officer of the Government came upon the scene, and by coercion got all the Brahmans, the excommunicated ones and the others, to sit down to dinner together. The result, says the Peshva's order, was that the whole of the Paithana Brahmans became excommunicated. And therefore the Sarkar, or Government, sent two Karkuns to administer penance wholesale to all the Brahmans of Paithana; and this was accordingly done. The order, then, which is addressed to the Deshmukhhs and Deshpandes of Pargana Jalnapur, after reciting all this, directs that the other Brahmans of the Pargana, having had intercourse with the Paithana Brahmans, must also perform due penance, according to the measure of their intercourse, through the instrumentality of the two Government Karkuns aforesaid. This case presents several remarkable features, not the least remarkable of which is the severe logic by which the penance is made to extend to all the Brahmans of a whole Pargana. The same severe logic may be noticed in a later case, which occurred in October 1800—soon after the deaths of Nana Fadanavis and Parshuram Bhau Patvardhan. It seems then to have been found out, that one of the household attendants in the Peshva's palace, who had been supposed to be a Brahman, was in fact of a low caste—a saddler. The man was ordered to be punished, and penance was administered to the whole city of Poona, that is, presumably, to

the Brahmans of the place, who must have been then, as they are now, the large majority of the inhabitants. (29)

A curious ecclesiastical case was disposed of by Sadashivrav Bhau (30) at Trimbakesvar. The Giri and Puri (31) sects of Gosavis had some dispute about bathing at Trimbakesvar in the Sinhastha year—a dispute, apparently about which of them was to have precedence. The dispute led, we are told, to severe fights, until Sadashivrav, having offered to settle the matter "on the part of the Government," the two parties agreed, and then Sadashivrav taking hold of the hands of the Mahants of the two rival sects, entered the sacred waters of the Kusavarta with the two Mahants for his companions. The two thus entering the water together, all disputes about precedence ceased. (32)

The Peshva, however, had not been equally successful in settling another dispute, between rival Brahmans, (33) which had arisen sometime before at Trimbakesvar, in relation to the Temple built by him at that place. The

(29) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 523. I know of no other source of information regarding the matter than the very short entry there. A curious extension of the severity of this logic even to deceased persons is suggested at Kayastha Prabhunchyá Itihásachin Sádhánen (Gramanya) p. 9. See further Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 9. The passage there is rather obscure.

(30) It seems that Sadashivrav principally managed the Peshva's affairs, Balaji as a rule "taking it easy." See *inter alia*, Forrest's Bombay Selections Vol. I pp. 121, 134 and compare Asiatic Researches Vol. III. p. 91.

(31) See Prof. H. H. Wilson's Religious sects of the Hindus Vol. I. pp. 202-3.

(32) See Peshva's Bakhar pp. 68-9.

(33) For another unsuccessful interference, or rather a series of unsuccessful interferences, by the State in ecclesiastical affairs, see the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar p. 13 *et seq*; Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) p. 5 *et seq*.

consecration of the edifice could not be performed at the time when Balaji wished it to be performed, because the Yajurvedi and A'pastamba Brahmans had some dispute—the nature of which is not more precisely indicated—in connection with the southern gate of the Temple. (34) How the matter was ultimately settled does not appear. (35) It may be remarked in passing, that some of the stone used under the orders of the Peshva for erecting the Trimbakesvar Temple, is stated to have been taken from the Muhammadan Musjids or Mosques in the Mogal districts. Whether such mosques were then unused and dilapidated or not does not appear. (36)

Another matter, in which the Peshva of the day failed to carry out his own wishes, in consequence of opposition from the people, was one which had occurred in the time of the first Bajirav. I have not seen any original authority for this, but a note of the Editor of the Peshva's Bakhar says, that Bajirav having had a son by the Mussulman woman Mastani, wanted to perform the thread-ceremony on that son and make a Brahman of him; but that the plan fell through in consequence of the opposition of the Brahmanas. (37) In a sketch of the career of Bajirav, bearing date in 1840,

(34) Peshva's Bakhar pp. 68–9

(35) But it appears from Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 522 that the consecration of the Trimbakesvar Temple was made by Bajirav II in Saka 1728 (A. D. 1806). The delay seems unaccountably long in spite of the difficulties raised by the Brahmans.

(36) Peshva's Bakhar p. 68. And compare *inter alia* Dowson's Elliot Vol. VII, pp. 404, 415, 446, 456 and Malcolm Central India Vol. I, p. 56.

(37) Peshva's Bakhar p. 40. That such an idea should have occurred to a Hindu defender of the faith is itself rather remarkable as an example of that relaxation of old traditions adverted to further on in this paper. And compare Grant Duff Vol. I. p. 599. Well might Grant Duff say that Bajirav was free from "bigotry"!

(though this is probably the date of the copy, not of the original sketch itself) a brief account is given of the sort of quasi-marriage, which had been celebrated between Bajirav and Mastâni. (38) The account there given is that Mastâni was the daughter of the Nabob of Hydrabad, that is to say the Nizam, and that the Nabob's wife suggested that their daughter might be married to Bajirav, as a means of cementing friendship between them. The marriage was accordingly celebrated, but with a dagger; (39) and Bajirav afterwards brought Mastâni away, and kept her in a separate mansion built specially for her in a part of the grounds of the Sanavar palace at Poona.

One matter of considerable importance, to which attention is being directed among Hindus at the present day, was dealt with by an order of the Peshvas—which of them was then in power it is not possible to say. The order provides, that no Brahman in Prant Vai should accept a money payment for giving his girl in marriage; that whoever receives any money should forfeit double the amount of it to government; whoever pays any should forfeit as much; and whoever may act as go-between in arranging

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(38) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 539. The whole story is a curious one, and there are sundry discrepancies in the various accounts we have of the transaction. See Shrî Sivakâyva, canto X st. 58; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar pp. 74-77; Kashiraj's Bhonsle Bakhar p. 40; Peshva's Bakhar pp. 37-40 see also p. 49; Peshva's Sakavali p. 6; Raghunath Yadava Panipat Bakhar p. 48; Chitnis's Shâhu p. 76; Forrest's Selections p. 658. As to Sumsher Bahadur, the son of Mastani, and the manner in which he was treated, and the designation he bore in relation to the Peshvas' family, see Forrest p. 102 and Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII, p. 283, and compare Peshvas' Bakhar p. 150.

(39) As to this compare *inter alia*, Malcolm's Central India Vol. II p. 158.

such a marriage and receive money for his services as such should forfeit the amount of his brokerage. The official to whom the order is conveyed is directed to communicate the terms of it "in an emphatic manner" to all the Brahman caste, and to all Jamindars, ecclesiastical functionaries, officiating priests, astrologers (Joshis), and to Patils and Kulkarnis ; and he is ordered to recover the amounts as prescribed without listening to any pretexts about expenses &c.. The letter now published acknowledges receipt of this order, the whole of which it recites ; and promises to communicate it to the people of the town of Vai and of Government villages, and to Desh-mukhs and Deshpandes. It is unnecessary to say anything more with reference to this order, than that its all-embracing character deserves notice. All parties to the nefarious transaction are hit at, the man who sells his girl, the man who buys her, and the man who arranges the bargain and sale. (40)

It would thus appear, that under Maratha rule, the union of Church and State was very close indeed ; that it was not merely a theoretical but a practically enforced union ; and that it was so, as well during the regime of the Maratha Rajas, as under that of the Brahman Peshvas, though it is to be observed, *valeat quantum*, that the order of the Peshva last mentioned bears the usual seal containing the name of Raja

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(40) See Letters, memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) pp. 121-2. Manu chap. III st. 51 *et seq.* and chap. IX st. 98 *et seq.* forbids what he in terms stigmatizes as a sale of a daughter, and the established name for the transaction in Marathi still is Kanyâvikraya or sale of a daughter See also Manu chap. XI st. 62 *et seq.* It will be seen that the particular sanctions enacted by the Peshva are not such as can be found in the Manu Smriti, and so far the Peshva's order is, in its nature, legislative, to borrow a term appertaining to the conceptions of the present day.

Shahu. (41) This is not much to be wondered at, considering that the idea of a State leaving all ecclesiastical and religious affairs outside its own jurisdiction, is not one which is even now universally accepted ; and considering further that the main inspiring principle of the whole movement initiated by Sivaji and carried on by his successors down to the closing years of the Peshva regime was the preservation of the Hindu religion against foreign aggression. (42) The only point one is struck by is that the Maratha Rajas should have been prepared and able to meddle so far as they did in religious matters. One possible explanation is that the people at large may have accepted the claims made in favour of Sivaji's Kshatriya origin—a matter on which something more will have to be said in the sequel. On the other hand, it s. to be observed that the Shastris generally have been chary of admitting, and in fact have often expressly denied, (43) the existence of any castes other than Brahmanas

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(41) In the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar p. 12 is a letter from the Peshva making a recommendation, and one from the Raja issuing the required orders through the Panditrav.

(42) See *inter alia* Sabhasad's Life pp, 27-8; V. J. Vistara Vol. IX pp. 50-3 ; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 76, Bhonsle's Bakhar p. 7 ; Bhonsle Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 147 ; Nigudkar's Life of P. B. Patvardhan p. 87 ; Malcolm Central India Vol. I. p. 69.

(43) See *inter alia* West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law p. 921 note. The learned authors of that work, Sir R. West and Dr. J. G. Bühler, had seen a large number of opinions of Shastris recorded in the various British Courts in the Bombay Presidency. The Shastris in other parts of the country also have, on various occasions, expressed opinions to the same effect. They may be seen referred to in the report of a case decided by Her Majesty's Privy Council at Moore's Indian Appeal Cases Vol. VII pp 35-7, 46-9. Steele is there quoted as showing that the claims to Kshatriya descent of the Bhonsles and other Maratha families have been denied ; and that the denial is based, not on the passage of the Bhagavata referred to in the text, but on the extinction of the Kshatriyas by

and Sudras at the present day. They have generally, I believe, relied on an old text of the Bhagavata Purana, (44) which says that the Nandas were the last of the Kshatriyas; and they have not, as far as I am aware, grappled, from that standpoint, with the claims of Sivaji to rank as a Kshatriya-claims, which appear to have been at least acquiesced in by Ramadasa. (45) Another explanation may, perhaps, be found in the old doctrine that every king has more or less of the divine element in him. In one passage of one of our recently published Bakhars, no less a person than the Mogal emperor of Delhi has been given the benefit of that doctrine. (46) And if

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Parasurama. But it is obvious that this last argument proves too much. For if it is correct, what is to be said of the caste status of Râma of Ayodhya, to take only one instance, and the series of his successors as described, for example, in Kalidasa's Raghuvansa? See further Malcolm's Central India Vol. I p. 43.

(44) One explanation of this text, which I believe to be the usual one, applies it only to the land of Magadha, not the whole of Bharatakhanda. For another explanation, given by Benares Pandits, see Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar p. 17.

(45) See *inter alia* Dasabodha XIII, 6. Hemadri, too, describes the Jâdhav prince, Mahâdeva, as of the Somavansa, and as having performed Yajnas. At V. J Vistara Vol. IX p 35, it is said that the Marathas are Rajputs with only altered names. See also as to this Journal. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Society Vol. IX p. CXLIV; and compare. Bhonsle Bakhar pp. 3-5; M. R. Chitnis's Rajaniti p. 7; Forrests Selections p. 726; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII p. 254 Vol. VIII p. 258.

(46) The passages relating to this point are all extremely curious, and deserve to be examined in their original places. See Panipat Bakhar by R. Yadav pp. 19-20; Chitnis's Rajaram I p. 71; Bhau Saheb's Bakhar p. 56; Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 137; Chitnis's Rajaram II p. 55; Sri Sivakavya canto I st. 119; Compare Letters &c. p. 37, see also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. III. 149, (which shows that Akbar was regarded as a divine incarnation), and Dowson's Elliott Vol. V. pp. 569-70. In Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. p. 284 we are told that, there was in Delhi a sect of Hindus, who did not take their daily food until after they had "Darsana" of Aurangzeb, and were thence called Darsanis!

that is allowable, *a fortiori* must Sivaji and Sambhaji be also allowed to be entitled to a share of the quasi-divine character. (47)

At this point, I cannot resist the temptation to draw attention to a passage in Krishnaji A. Sabhasad's Life of Sivaji. Although, as above stated, his movement was in essence a religious one, it appears that in providing for the preservation of temples and religious institutions of his own faith, 48) Sivaji also continued the existing grants in favour of Mussalman Pîrs, mosques &c. for keeping up lights (49)

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(47) See Chitnis's Rajaniti p. 123 ; Chitragupta's Sivaji pp. 5,16, 32, 41, 101 ; Kharda Bakhar p. 22. In the Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) p. 5 it is stated, that when the dissensions between the Brahmans and Prabhus were going on in the lifetime of Narayanrav Peshva, the champions of the former said: "What does it matter what is in the Sastras ? Who looks at them ? The Peshvas are sovereigns. It is necessary to act as they direct" Tavenier Vol. I p. 356 shows a similar complacency on the part of Muhammadan Doctors of the Law in presence of Aurangzeb. And see also Bernier p. 288.

(48) See Sabhasad's Life p. 27; Chitragupta p. 40 ; V. J. Vistara Vol. IX p 36 ; Fryer's Travels p. 68, and Bernier pp. 188-9, afford independent confirmation of these statements. And Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII p. 260 is of special value, as coming from a Muhammadan source. This tolerance sometimes was carried too far ; see *inter alia* Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 14. (see also the curious story at p. 48) ; M. R. Chitnis's Sambhaji p. 5 ; Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 108 (where the Holkar takes the "Fakiri" a matter s[t]ill not uncommon), Forrest's Selections p. 1 ; Forbe's Oriental Memoir Vol. II pp. 118, 255 With this may be compared Muhammadan liberality as shown in the prohibition of cowslaughter procured by Mahadji Sindhia from the Delhi Emperor. See Grant Duff Vol. III p.76 ; Malcolm Central India Vol I pp 164, 194. And see also Bernier pp. 306, 326. The Portuguese are stated to have been very intolerant ; see the Sashti Bakhar p 1 ; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII pp. 211, 345 ; Ovington's voyage to Surat p. 206.

(49) As to this compare Scott's Deccan Vol. I p. 103. Fryer's Travels p. 124.

and religious services. As Sabhâsad's Life professes to have been writen at the desire of Rajaram, the second son of Sivaji, in 1694, and as there is some internal evidence to confirm this claim, the information furnished by Sivaji's biographer is obviously of great historic value.

To return, however, to our main point. In connection with this ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it may be useful to note, that it is clear from the Kayastha Prabhûnchî Bakhar, (50)that the Mussalman sovereigns of Bijapur were also on occasion called on to deal with these ecclesiastical cases arising among their Hindu subjects. It appears, for instance, that in the course of the quarrels between the Brahmans and Prabhus in the Konkan, the two parties once went to the local Bijapur officer for redress. He was a Mussalman, and he pointed out that he knew nothing of the Sastras of the litigants. He therefore told them both to go to their principal sacred place, Benares, and obtain a decision from the Pandits there; and promised that he would enforce such decision. The Bakhar goes on to say, that the parties did accordingly repair to Benares, where a great sabha or assembly of the Pandits was held, and after high debate it was determined that the Prabhus were genuine Ksbatriyas, and entitled to the benefit of Vedic ceremonies, (51) and to be taught the sacred Gayatri verse. The Brahmanas are said to have been satisfied, and to have agreed to conduct the cere-

(50) Pp. 8-9. At a later stage of these disputes, in the days of Nana Fadanavis's power, the Prabhus said "all our caste prays for an assembly of Pandits to be convened to determine our status. Then let an order of the State be issued, and it will be our duty to have the ceremonies performed as ordered. Only let the State orders be given after due consideration." Kayastha Prabhûchya Itihasachin Sâdhanen (Gramanya) p. 17; K. P. Bakhar p. 12.

(51) As to this see West and Bühler's Digest of Hindu Law p. 920; but see also Mandlik's Hindu Law p. 56.

monies for the Prabhus in the regular manner. And it is stated subsequently that this was accordingly done.

Perhaps the incidents relating to the marriage of Shahji may be looked at as affording another illustration of the same character. The incidents are curious on other grounds also, and may, therefore, be fitly set out at some length. (52) Maloji, the father of Shahji, and his brother Vithoji, were both employed in the service of Lukji Jadhavrav, a Mansabdar under the Nizamshahi Government. On one occasion, in 1598, when the Shimga festivities of the Ranga were being celebrated at the house of Jadhavrav, Maloji and his young son Shahji being present, the host seated Shahji then five years of age and a handsome looking boy, by the side of his daughter who was three years old. And in the course of conversation he happened to remark, as people often do on such occasions, that the two would make a very suitable match, and asked the girl if she would like to have Shahji for her husband. Immediately Maloji and his brother Vithoji declared to the assembled guests that the word of Jadhavrav had been passed in favour of the match, and called on them to bear witness to the fact. Jadhavrav's wife, however, would not consent to this, and she got him to dismiss Maloji and Vithoji. They both left, but after some time they appear to have prospered, and to have placed themselves at the head of a body of two or three thousand soldiers, and also to have got help from others. They then went to a place near Doulatabad, and threw some slaughtered pigs into the mosque there with letters addressed to the Nizam, stating the contract between them and Jadhavrav, and threatening that if the king did not arrange for the

(52) See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar pp. 4-7 and compare V. J. Vistara Vol. IX p. 37 *et seq*, also Grant Duff Vol. I p.

marriage being celebrated in pursuance of the contract, they would desecrate(53) other mosques in the same way.The Nizam at once took up the matter, and directed Jadhavrav to carry out the contract of marriage. This was ultimately done with great pomp under the auspices of the Nizam himself, who took Maloji and Vithoji into his own service. The proceedings connected with this affair are, it need hardly be remarked, altogether of a curious and irregular character, but they appear to indicate, that even in the delicate affairs of marriage, recourse was had by the Hindu subjects of Musalman Kings to the assistance of their Sovereigns, in whatever way such assistance might be invoked.

There is a passage in the Bakhar of the battle of Kharda, which illustrates how this ecclesiastical jurisdiction was sometimes invoked, and how it was practically worked on its judicial side. At Talegaum, it seems, there was a Brahman woman, who lived in adultery with a Mussalman. (54) The Brahmans of the place made a complaint about this to Nana Fadanavis at Poona, stating the facts, and adding, in the usual style, that the days of Brahmanism were gone ! Nana expressed his disbelief in the charge, but appointed a Panch or board of arbitrators to investigate it. (55) The Panch were apparently bribed by the Mussalman, and even before the time for final decision was reached betrayed a tendency to decide in the Mussalman's favour, holding that the charge was false. Thereupon

(53) For a funny story of an Englishman's revenge on a Mussalman, in which pig's flesh plays an important part, see Tavernier's Travels by V. Ball Vol. I p. 11.

(54) See the Kharda Bakhar pp. 5-6. (Grant Duff's spelling of the name, Kurdla, is incorrect.)

(55) As to this mode of administering criminal justice see Grant Duff Vol. II p. 237, compare Forbes Oriental Memoirs Vol. I p.

"a hundred or two hundred Brahmans" gathered together and went up to Poona. There they went before the tent of the Peshva, (who was starting with his army on the expedition which ended at Kharda) and sat there in the middle of the day with torches blazing. When the Peshva came out of the tent, the Brahmans set up a loud cry "Har! Har! Mahadev!" And on the Peshva desiring to know the meaning of it all, they said they had come from Talegaum, stated their whole case, and explained that they had lighted torches at midday, as there was so much darkness, that is, absence of justice, prevailing in the kingdom. Nana was thereupon sent for, and subsequently the arbitrators, and finally the accused woman. The woman on being asked at first remained silent. But cane sticks being ordered to be sent for, (56) she acknowledged her guilt, and the Peshva thereupon decided that both the accused persons were guilty—a decision in which Yajnesvar Shastri is stated to have concurred. The sentence was that the male culprit was ordered first to be paraded through the streets of Poona on the back of a donkey with his face turned towards the back (57) of the animal, and then tied to the foot of an elephant and killed;

474; Malcolm Central India Vol. I p. 536; Vol. II pp. 290, 426; Stephen's Impey and Nandkumar Vol. I p. 247; Vol. II p. 78. As to what is said by Grant Duff about women and Brahmans not being put to death, compare M. R. Chitnis's Life of Shahu the younger pp. 72-80; and Peshva's Bakhar p. 132; Forrest p. 18; Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 5; Chitnis's Shâhu I pp. 25, 5; Sambhaji pp. 12,14.

(56) This is in accordance with old tradition; compare Mudrâ-râkshasa Act V Wilson's Hindu Theatre Vol. II, 225, Malcolm s Central India Vol. I p. 538 and Stephen's Nandkumar Vol. I p. 201.

(57) See Scott's Deccan Vol. I p. 375.

and the female culprit, as she could not be sentenced to death, (58) was banished from the kingdom.

The various incidents to which we have thus referred illustrate the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Maratha Sovereigns in all aspects. We see from them that those sovereigns, as heads alike of the State and the Church, to borrow a Christian expression, exercised legislative powers, judicial powers both by themselves and through the medium of arbitrators, administrative powers by a departmental Minister, and executive powers through the instrumentality of Government Karkuns. And the documents, it may be added, which furnish this information, extend over nearly the whole period of Maratha rule, from the time of Sivaji down to that of Savai Madhavrav.

It has been already stated, that the Maratha Rajas who claimed and exercised the wide ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus

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(58) See note 55 Supra. The punishments here mentioned were in use in those days for divers offences. The infamous Ghâsirâm Kotval was subjected to the parade called Dhinda (See Peshva's Bakhar p. 157) though he appears to have had a camel instead of a donkey to ride on. But see Forbes Oriental Memoirs Vol. II p. 135 where the whole affair is described at length. See also Fryer p. 97. Some of Narayanrav Peshva's murderers, and the pretender Sadâshivrav Bhau (Grant Duff's spelling of this name as Sewdasheorao is incorrect) were tied to the feet of elephants and thus killed. (See Bhausaheb's Kaifiyat p. 3; and compare Forrest's Selections p. 4, Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. pp. 359-63, Bernier's Travels p. 177, Scott's Deccan Vol. I pp. 134,285,393 and Hamilton's East Indies Vol. I p. 178 where it is said that this was esteemed an ignominious death.) Others were beheaded or shot. And some had torches tied to their persons, which then were lighted, and they were thus burnt to death, after their fingers had been pierced with needles See Peshva's Bakhar p. 132. For different and varying accounts of the pretender Sadashivrav's death, see Peshva's Bakhar p. 134 and Nigudkar's Life of Parasharam Bhau Patvardhan p. 40, and Grant Duff Vol. II p. 331-5. Peshva's Sakâvalî p. 30; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII 294, Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 100, and Chitnis's Rajaram p. 45.

indicated in outline, were regarded as Kshatriyas. The recently published documents contain many allusions to this point. But from those which relate to Sivaji himself, (59) it rather appears, if we read between the lines, that the claim set up on his behalf to be of the Kshatriya caste was not universally regarded as really and truly tenable, although from considerations of policy and expediency it might be conceded. From the Biographies of Sivaji, by Krishnaji Anant Sabhásad, (60) and by Chitragupta, (61) it seems to follow that the search for the origin of Sivaji's family, which resulted in the discovery that he belonged to the Sisode (62) clan of Rajputs. who reigned in Udayapur, (63) was not commenced until after the idea of a formal installation (or Abbisheka) had been started. And Malhar Ramrao Chitnis's narrative, although it proceeds on the assumption of the fact as already established, rather indicates that Gagabhatta, the great Pandit of Benares, whose services were put in requisition for the installation ceremonies, had some considerations of policy put to him before he was

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(59) See *inter alia* Chitragupta's Life pp, 108,116, 168 and compare Marathi Sâmrâjya Bakhar p. 47.

(60) See p. 68, See also Forrest's Selections p. 22.

(61) P. 98.

(62) See V. J. Vistâra Vol. X pp. 44, 116-9.

(63) See Chitnis's Shahu p. 9; see too V. J. Vistâra Vol. IX. p. 32 ; Gupte's Bhonsle Bakhar p. 4 ; Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 362; M. R. Chitnis's Life of Shahu the Younger pp. 101-2, where the different practice of the old Udayapur family in a certain matter of ceremonial is referred to. It will be remembered, that the Udayapur family were the oldest of the Rajput clans (See. Grant Duff Vol. I p. 27) and that they were the only family which had not permitted a daughter of theirs to marry into the family of the great Mogul. (See. Elphinstone's India by Cowell. pp. 480-506-7, and compare V. J. Vistara Vol IX p. 29, Bernier Travels p. 126n, Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII pp. 195-6.

persuaded to join in those ceremonies. (64) They had also to strain a point, when as a preliminary to the installation, the thread ceremony essential for a Kshatriya, was performed on Sivaji at a time when he was " forty six or fifty years old " and had already had two sons—an irregularity, which also was, we are told, expressly assented to by all the Brahmans and Pandits. (65) How the Brahmans and Pandits worked their way to this decision, none of our authorities states. Further it is remarkable that none of those authorities anywhere mentions the performance of the thread ceremony upon any of the members of Sivaji's family, except the ones who were installed on the gadi, (66) and then that ceremony is mentioned only in connection with the installation ceremony. (67) In view of these facts, it may be permissible to doubt, whether the statements of both Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (68) and Malhar Ramrao Chitnis, about Shahaji claiming to be a Rajput of the Sisode clan, or about Jayasing Mirza Raja of Jeypore acknowledging Sivâji as a Kshatriya and dining with

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(64) V. J. Vistâra Vol. XIII p. 202. See the history of the Chitnis family (K. P. I. S.) pp. 6,8 and Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar pp. 10-1. According to a writer in the Jnana Prakash newspaper of Poona, Gagabhatta used the argument from expediency to reconcile the people to what was being done. No authority is quoted for this version of the affair.

(65) See V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII p. 203.

(66) Rajaram's is mentioned by M. R. Chitnis V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII p. 248. (Sambhaji's thread ceremony appears to have taken place at a much earlier age than Sivaji's ; apparently it was celebrated as a preliminary to his installation as Yuvaraja or heir—apparent).

(67) *e. g.* See Chitnis's Life of Rajaram II. p. 2, Life of Shahu p 16.

(68) Sabhasad's Life pp. 28, 38. See V. J. Vistára Vol. IX p. 30; Vol. X pp. 44, 119; Vol. XIII p. 202, where Siváji claims that other members of his family are reigning in Cutch and Nepàl.

him before the installation, deserve to be entirely trusted. (69) That at a later time the Satara Rajas, (70) the Sindhias (71) and the Nagpur Bhonsles and Ghorpades and others claim to be Kshatriyas is a matter which after Sivaji's affair need excite no surprise. The explanation of it all is contained in a passage in K. A. Sabhasad's Life. He says that Gagabhatta (72) was much pleased with the splendid reception given him by Sivaji; and it was he suggested that while a Mussalman Padsha sat on the throne, and had the chhatra or umbrella indicative of sovereignty, (73) it was not proper that Sivaji, who had achieved what he had, should not adopt the formal ensigns of kingship. (74) And it was when this suggestion was accepted by Sivaji, and a formal Abhisheka determined on, that it became necessary to look into the origin of the family, and to promulgate that Sivaji was by birth a Kshatriya. Taking the whole evidence together, it looks

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(69) See to Chitnis's Shahu pp. 9, 61; and Rajaram II p. 2. In Forbes's Oriental Memoirs we are told that the Marathas, "are accounted among the lower tribes of the Hindus" Vol. I p. 459 Vol. II p. 61; and compare Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII p. 209.

(70) See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 116; and the references already given; compare also Scott's Deccan Vol. I, p 32; Vol. II p. 4 Forrest's Selections p. 725.

(71) See Bhau Saheb's Bakhar p. 68.

(72) Chitragupta (p. 95) appears to say that Gagabhatta had come of his own motion to see Sivaji. The other authorities point the other way. Gagabhatta is said to have got a lakh of rupees as a present. See Chitnis family p. 6 (K. P. I. S.)

(73) See Scott's Deccan Vol. I pp. 81, 93, 210, 288, 351, 370-6. The passage at p 351 should be noted; and compare Ovington's voyage to Surat p. 315.

(74) P. 30.

like a case of a more or less deliberate manipulation of facts and religious rules, in aid of a foregone conclusion adopted for a purely political purpose.(75)

Of similar manipulations, or of more open and direct violations of religious rules of greater or less importance, the documents before us afford sundry other examples. One of the earliest occurred in connection with the arrangements for the accommodation of Sambhaji, when Sivaji, after the flight from Delhi, was obliged, in order to disembarass himself of all impediments, to leave the young prince behind him. It appears, that some of Aurangzeb's people suspected that the boy was not, as pretended, a son of the Brahman Kashipant, in whose charge he was. And in order to silence their suspicions, Kashipant was obliged to accept their challenge, and to eat out of the same dish as Sambhaji. The Brahman made the offence as light as he could make it, by taking a quantity of parched and flattened rice(76) (Pohe) mixed with curds on a plantain leaf(77), for the purpose

(75) Sivaji is stated to have been rather keen about getting his Munja, or thread ceremony, performed. See Chitragupta's Life p. 84. In the V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII p. 202, it is said that he consulted all and sundry upon that and kindred matters. It is also stated [See Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 47, and account of Baba Saheb Gupte (K. P. I. S.) p. 8] that at one time Sivaji, after being taught the Gayatri mantra (Om Tat Savitur &c.) was going in for the regular Brahmanical life in preference to the Kshatriya (Compare Sri Siva Kavya canto I st 50). But he subsequently allowed himself to be dissuaded from this by his officers. He then ordered that no mean employment was to be given to Brahmans, and he made several transfers accordingly. See also Grant Duff Vol. I p. 266 ; Forrest's Selections Vol. I p. 251.

(76) Compare Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII p. 285 ; See also *Ibid* Vol. I p. 9 ; V. J. Vistara Vol. X p. 200.

(77) Forbes, (Oriental Memoirs Vol. II p. 49) says that in his days a Brahman might not eat out of tinned copper vessels but had to use plantain leaves, &c.

of eating in the presence of Aurangzeb's myrmidons. These men made a favourable report to the Emperor, and Sambhaji was saved. But one of Sivaji's biographers, Chitragupta, says that the Brahman Kashipant secretly performed penance for what he had done.(78) It is to be remarked, that Sambhaji is stated by the same writer to have been dressed like a Brahman(79) with a Dhotar(80) tied round his waist, and also with the sacred thread, which he did not get as of right till about 1679, when Sivaji had his thread ceremony performed, with a view to instal him as Yuvaraja or heir apparent.(81)

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(78) P. 75. Other authorities say nothing about any penance. This test of dining together appears to have been frequently applied in Maratha History. See *inter alia* M. R Chitnis's Life of Rajaram II p. 2 ; Asiatic Researches Vol. III p. 137 ; Grant Duff Vol. II p. 39 ; Malcolm's Central India Vol. II pp. 131, 149 ; besides Chitragupta's Life p. 62 ; Gaikavad's Kaifiyat p. 6 ; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 32 ; V. J. Vistara Vol. IX pp. 31–2, 70 ; Vol. X p. 202 ; Gupte's Bhonsle Bakhar pp. 9, 20, 31. For two curious incidents connected with dining together, see Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 4 ; Gupte's Bhonsle Bakhar p. 31. A writer in the Jnana Prakash of Poona says that when Rajaram and his attendants were moving about the country, Aurangzeb's people once encountered them ; and in order to avoid their suspicions, Marathas, Prabhus, and Brahmans all sat down together to dinner in one row with silken clothes on. I have not seen this stated in any of the published Bakhars.

(79) See Chitragupta's Life p. 77 ; V. J. Vistara Vol. X p. 185 ; Scott's Deccan Vol. II p. 16.

(80) Peshva's Bakhar pp. 105, 139, 143 shows that Brahmans used trousers without much scruple. Savai Madhavrav appears to have put them on on the occasion of his wedding. See also Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 5, Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. II p. 12. In the Bhonsle Bakhar p. 48 a change in the established fashion of the headdress is strongly objected to. It may be allowable, perhaps, to point out the parallel between this, and the curious conservatism of an English lawyer mentioned in that most interesting work—Charles Sumner's Life and Letters Vol. I p. 338.

(81) See V. J. Vistara Vol. X p. 185 ; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 32 ; Bhonsle Bakhar p. 9 ; Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 77 At Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII p. 272, it is clearly implied that Sambha-

A somewhat similar occurrence had taken place before in Sivaji's family, on his father Shahaji's death, when in spite of the prayers of her son, Jijibai at first insisted on preparations being made for her sacrificing herself as a Sati. Chitragupta's Life(82) shows, that the argument which ultimately prevailed with the lady was, that if she insisted on having her own way, Sivaji's life could not be relied on, and the empire established by him would at once cease to exist. Other instances of the same character are not wanting in subsequent years—in the days of the Peshva power. The great violation of religious rules, which was involved in the Brahman Peshvas taking to the military profession, is become so familiar, and such a matter of course, so to say, that it hardly strikes one sufficiently as being a violation at all.(83) In the protest made by the eminent Ram Shastri against the Peshva Madhavrav's devoting too much time to religious observances,(84) their incompatibility with the duties of Kshatriyas, which the Peshvas had undertaken, is the strongest point in the argument; and the departure from the ordinances of the faith is assumed as an accomplished and irreversible fact, not a matter under discussion

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ji had been married before going to Delhi. The contrary appears from V. J. Vistara Vol. X p. 203; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 117; see also V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII p. 242.

(82) See P. 85. Compare Sabhasad's Life p. 55. See also Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 67, and Bernier p. 308.

(83) For what a Brahman of our own day says about it, see V. J. Vistara Vol. XXI p 284; also Sri Siva Kavya I pp. 112-5, 121; II pp. 49, 117. Compare Malcolm's Central India Vol. I, p. 77; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. II p. 209; Forbes p 728. From Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. S.) p. 9 we learn, that the Peshvas had resorted to special religious ceremonials for obtaining sovereignty.

(84) Forbes (Oriental Memoirs Vol I p. 472) speaks of Madhavrav as "possessed of a mind unfettered by the restraints and superstitious tenets of the Hindus."

at all.(85) Another story, pointing the same way, is told of the same eminent Peshva—Madhavrav. When he was arranging for his expedition against Hyder Ali, he sent a summons in the usual way(86) to the Bhonsle Chief of Nagpur to come over to join the Maratha army. The Bhonsle's agent at Poona went to consult the Ex-minister, Sakharam Bapu, as to what should be done. The latter was afraid to give his counsel openly, as the Peshva's Karkun was present. But he managed to convey his advice to the Bhonsle's agent, without the Karkun understanding the point. Sakharam Bapu suggested to one of two persons who were sitting near him playing chess, that as the pawns(87) of his opponent had advanced in force, he should take back his king a square or two. The Bhonsle's agent, taking the hint, at once wrote off to his master to advise that he should not come to Poona in pursuance of the Peshva's summons, but should go back the one or two stages he had advanced from Nagpur. This was done accordingly, and Madhavrav, who had a great reputation for obtaining news of every thing that was going on in which he was interested, (88) heard of the Bhonsle's return to his capital, and also of Sakharam Bapu's advice which led to it—though the

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(85) Grant Duff Vol. II. p. 209.

(86) This formed the subject of special stipulations between the Peshvas and Bhonsles. See Bhonsle Letters &c. (K. I. S.). pp 23, 64, 65, 70, 114, and compare Chitnis's Rajaram p. 23, Peshva's Bakhar p 91.

(87) Pawns in Marathi are called Pyadas which also means "soldiers."

(88) Nana Fadanavis is believed to have adopted and carried out Madhavrav's system of obtaining news from everywhere. See Grant Duff Vol. II p. 229. It is one of the points specially noticed in Gopikabai's letter to Savai Madhavrav; see Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. S.). p. 459. And as to Nana compare Peshva's Bakhar pp. 146-8 *inter alia.*

latter was perceived only by him under the facts he learnt from the cross-examination of the Karkun. Madhavrav was a man of very strong will; he at once sent for the Bhonsle's agent, and told him of his master's return to Nagpur on the advice of Sakharam Bapu, and added. "If your master is in Poona within fifteen days, well and good: if not I will pay no heed to the fact of your being a Brahman,(89) but will smash your head with a tent-peg(90)!"

The matter, may, perhaps, be said to be carried a step further, when a Brahman Karkun, writing of the end of the Brahman Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan's life, writes as follows(91): "The end of the deceased was excellent. For he served the Peshvas, performing a Kshatriya's duties to the very last!"(92) But even if we pass from the cases of these secularised Brahmans (93) as they may be called, we find in the instance of the priests of Kayagaum, and perhaps I may add

(89) See Peshva's Bakhar p. 94. For a more ferocious story, about Raghoba Dada, see Peshva's Bakhar p. 81-2. The Jnana Prakash newspaper of Poona recently published another story with a similar moral. It appears that a Brahman employé of the Peshvas, in the Military department, accidentally discharged a gun and killed another Brahman. The former was thereupon excommunicated for Brahmanicide. But Ram Shastri, having regard to the fact of the death being accidental, publicly dined in company with the excommunicated Brahman; and when asked for an explanation as to the authority for his proceeding, replied that it had the same authority as there was for associating with the Peshvas, who, though Brahmans themselves, were answerable for many more heinous homicides!

(90) As to killing with a tent-peg, see Chitnis's Rajaram p. 72; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 100; Peshva Sakavali p. 30; Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 79.

(91) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. S) p. 501.

(92) This is nearly all reproduced in the Life of Bhau by Nigudkar recently published p. 123. Compare also Panipat Bakhar p. 42; and Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat p. 24.

(93) As to a Shastri transmogrified into a soldier, see Chitnis's Rajaram p. 104.

of the Svami of Dhavadasi, that these men, while still living as religious Brahmans, appear to have devoted themselves to worldly, that is, political, pursuits. About the latter I only know from oral information, the recently published Bakhar, and the note in Grant Duff's history(94). The original correspondence alluded to, I have not seen. But with regard to the former, the published letters show that they lent money at interest(95) to the Peshvas, were consulted by them about men and things connected with the State, and in fact took an active personal, if occasional, share in public affairs.(96)

Another point of the same sort may be noted, as being a somewhat remarkable one. Among the papers recently published is a letter addressed to the Peshva Savai Madhavrav, by his grand-mother Gopikabai, in reply to a request by the former for advice as to how he should conduct himself. One of the directions given to her grand-son by this old lady, the widow of Balaji Bajirav, was that he should cut short his Sandhya-worship, and that while the household priest performed the general daily worship of the household gods, he should only offer them the leaves of the Tulasi plant. Such a direction, given by a woman, and to a young boy who was only just learning to read write and cipher,

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(94) Grant Duff Vol. I p. 523 n.

(95) A वेदशास्त्रसंपन्न gentleman is mentioned at Letters, memoranda &c. (K. I. S.) p. 395 as engaging in financial transactions.

(96) See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 2 *et seq.* In this connection the metamorphosis of Gosavs into soldiers may also be noted. See Grant Duff Vol. III. pp. 33,338. and cf *inter alia* Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat p. 23; Bhau-Saheb's Bakhar p. 53 and Holkar's Kaifiyat p 53; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. p. 294; Malcolm's Central India Vol. II. p. 168; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. II. p. 9. See also as to Bairagis, Holkar's Kaifiyat pp. 7, 8, 62; Peshva's Bakhar p. 230.

affords remarkable evidence of how the exigencies of the times were operating to relax the rigours of the old religious observances even in the family of the Peshvas. (97) Gopikabai was a very practical lady, of quick intelligence and strong will,(98) and must have seen the habitual course of life of several prominent men in the history of the Peshva regime.(99)

There are one or two curious points to note in connection with the relaxation of the rules regarding the taking of food. The first point I take at secondhand from a note by the Editor of the Life of Shahu(100) written by Malhar Ramrav Chitnis. The Pratinidhi, Parashuram Trimbak, having come under the displeasure of Shahu on account of his son's having gone over to the Kolhapur interest, was about to be put to death by Shahu's orders, when Khando Ballal Chitnis hastened to the spot and, interceding for the Pratinidhi, saved his life.(101)From that time forward, it is said that one prominent member of the family of Khando Chitnis was, for a long time,

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(97) See Letters Memoranda &c (K. I. Sangraha) p. 458; V. J. Vistara Vol. v. 179 where also Gopikabai's letter is published; and compare also Peshva's Bakhar pp. 62-4; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 93.

(98) See Grant Duff Vol. II. pp. 120, 168 and compare *inter alia* Bhau Saheb's Bakhar pp. 89-90; Peshva's Bakhar pp. 61, 64-5. Forrest pp. 250-1, and 677 shows what was thought of her by the English in those days. But they were prejudiced in favour of Raghoba Dada their ally, and therefore not altogether fair judges of his opponent Gopikabai. But see also Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII. pp. 267, 287; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 478.

(99) See Forrest's Selections Vol. I. p. 725.

(100) P. 26. I can refer to an original authority, but only from the Prabhu side of the question. See the history of the Chitnis family in K. P. I. S. p. 11 see also K. P. Bakhar (K. P. I. S.) p. 13 n.

(101) See Bhonsle Bakhar p. 17; Grant Duff Vol. I. p. 426.

always asked to the Srâddha or anniversary dinners of the Pratinidhi's family, in company with the Brahmans invited. Two similar departures from strict rule in regard to dinners are mentioned in the Bakhar of the battle of Kharda. After the victory, the Peshva was taken round by Nana Fadanavis to honour the various Sardars with a visit. Among others, they called on the two Sardars of the Sindhia—Jivba Dada and Lakhoba Nana. There the Peshva was invited to what is called a Faral, that is, a dinner about which there are fewer ceremonial difficulties than the ordinary preparations. The Peshva turned to Nana, saying "these people are Shenvis, (102) how can their request be granted?" Whereupon Nana said, "the preparations have been made by our Brahman cooks. What does it matter, if they are Shenvis? Jivba's wishes must not be baulked. He has handled his sword well. Such difficulties with the Sardars must be overcome." Then the Peshva and the Brahmans who accompanied him sat down to the Faral—the Peshva taking something only for form's sake, and the rest taking the Faral in the usual way. From the narrative in the Bakhar, it seems clear, that all parties thought that something not in accordance with the prevailing rules was being done, and that the justification or excuse for its being done was found in the political exigencies of the occasion. From Jivba Dada's tents, the Peshva pro-

(102) P. 20. The Shenvis are called "fish-eating Brahmans" in Chitragupta's Life of Sivaji p. 123 and K. A. Sabhásad's Life p. 57 (where there are certain paragraphs, pronounced by the Editor on good grounds to be interpolated, which are nevertheless of interest from a historical point of view). The objection of the Peshva mentioned above was based upon the prevailing custom, which must have originally arisen from the Shenvis being ordinarily a "fish-eating" caste, while other classes of Brahmans are not such. See also Fryer p. 190.

ceeded to those of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan. (103) Here, too, the Peshva had an invitation to stay for dinner. There was, of course, no caste difficulty here, as both parties belonged to the same caste—division. But the Peshva said to Nana, "Parashuram Bhau is in mourning. (104) What should be done?" Again Nana was up to the occasion and ready with his practical advice. "Bhau's wishes," said Nana, "must not be baulked on such an occasion, as this; some way out of the difficulty about the mourning shall be found." (105) Ultimately the Peshva consented, and he and all his party took their night meal at Parashuram Bhau's camp—Bhau himself sitting apart, and not in the same row with his guests, in consequence of his mourning. The writer of the Bakhar says, that on account of the Peshva's condescension, Bhau forgot his grief for the loss of his nephew, and told (106) the Peshva

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(103) Kharda Bakhar p. 20.

(104) Parashuram Bhau's nephew had been killed at the battle of Kharda, and for ten days after his death, his dwelling and all his family would be in a state of ceremonial impurity. See Fryer p. 101.

(105) This idea is worthy of note.

(106) P. 20 Jivba Dada also had expressed himself in terms of similar gratitude. The elder Madhavrav Peshva's dining with Janoji Bhonsle, as mentioned in the Lives of the Nâgpur Chitnises (K. P. I. S.) p. 3 does not seem to be a matter of much religious or social significance. It appears from Mr. Forrest's Selections from Bombay State papers (Vol. 1. p. 162) that the elder Mâdhavrav Peshva once invited Mr. Mostyn "to stay and sup with him," and that Mr. Mostyn did so. How the supper went off, and what were the details of the arrangements, one would have liked to know, but no information is forthcoming on that head, as far as I am aware. As to what Westerns think about Indian preparations, see Ovington's Voyage to Surat pp. 295-6, 397; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. II. p. 49; Tavernier's Travels Vol. I. p. 409.

that the latter's staying to dinner in the house of mourning was an ample reward to him for his labours in the field. (107)

On the next point of this sort to which I now proceed to draw attention, the evidence is not quite as clear as could be wished. Such as it is, however, I will now adduce it. One of the most splendid festivities celebrated during the days of the Peshva power was on the occasion of the marriage of Savai Madhavrav. The grand doings are described in much detail in the Peshva's Bakhar (108). And we have also a Memorandum

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(107) In his recently published Life by Nigudkar, Parashuram Bhau is stated to have been a very pious Hindu. His request to the Peshva, therefore, is remarkable, as well as Nana's counsel, and the Peshva's compliance.

(108) See pp. 135-44. The note of the Editor of the Peshva's Bakhar on this passage seems to me, I confess, hardly to deal fair measure to Mahadji Sindhia. It is true that Mahadji was in all likelihood not himself really a lover of such exhibitions (See Forrest's Selections Vol. I. p. XXIX which is presumably based on Malcolm's Central India Vol. I. p. 125). And doubtless it is, therefore, not unfair to infer that he had an object in arranging for them on this occasion. But the elaborately-sinister object attributed to him in the note under reference is scarcely the probable one. There is nothing, that I am aware of, in Mahadji's career or character to warrant the imputation, that he wanted to enfeeble the whole of the Deccan Marathas for his personal aggrandisement. What he probably did aim at was the establishment of an influence on the single individual, Savai Madhavrav more potent than that of Nana Falanavis. And he probably sought to secure this by means of striking shows, which would naturally be supposed to be the best passport to such influence with one whom apparently all around him were then treating as still a child. The Peshva's Bakhar, further, does not indicate that Nana on his part objected in the slightest degree to any of these shows, but rather the contrary. The idea that he must have done so may be correct, but there is no evidence whatever adduced to substantiate it. Such as it is, the evidence seems to me rather to point the other way, so far as the general taste of those days is concerned—though I am not aware of anything sufficiently specific about Nana himself in relation to this point. (See *inter alia* Peshva's Bakhar pp. 131, 167, 172, 175, 193; Bhau Saheb's Bakhar pp. 90, 130; V. J. Visiara Vol. V. p. 200; *Ibid*

dated sake 1704 (A. D. 1782) containing a most elaborate series of directions as to each one of the innumerable elements making up the "pride pomp and circumstance" of a glorious marriage, including the perfumery, refreshments, amusements to be provided, the men to superintend them, and so forth. (109) Among other things, the Memorandum directs that Sardars, Siledars, Marathas, Mussalmans, Ali Bahadur (110) and others, should be taken after they are assembled together to the house of the bride's father for dinner and for Faral; and they should be invited to a Faral or dinner at the palace on the proper occasions. And again it is said, that the Nabob, Bhonsle, Holkar, and Siledars of high position, Sarkarkuns (*sic*,) Marathas and Mussalmans, should be invited. And, after determining what is appropriate, they should be taken to the house of the bride's father and to the palace for dinner, and to see the dance. They should be invited, and provisions also should be sent to them. It is not clear from these directions how the various guests—Marathas, Mussulmans, &c.—were accommodated at the time of the dinners and farals, nor how they were served. And, therefore, one cannot be sure that they all sat down together and were served out of the same pots, though this

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Vol. X. pp. 6, 7; Chitnis's Shahu p. 49; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar pp. 87, 102; Peshva Sakavali pp. 17, 90; Chitnis's Rajaram p. 50; Asiatic Researches Vol. III. p. 24; Ovington's Voyage to Surat p. 329, *et seq*; Grant Duff Vol. II. p. 159; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VIII. p. 280. For the marriage of Savai Madhavrav, celebrated without Mahadji having his finger in the pie, 50,000 Rs. were spent on cloth alone, and this was under Nana Fadanavis's management. See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 226. See also in connexion with this, *Ibid.* pp. 273-74.

(109) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) pp. 277, 292.

(110) The son of Samsher Bahadur, who was the son of the first Bajirav by Mastani.

does not seem altogether unlikely. (111) In any case, however, it seems clear that, Mussalmans as well as Marathas sat down to the grand marriage dinners at the palace and at the house of the bride's father; and in this elaborately detailed Memorandum, there is nothing said about their having any separate parts of the houses set apart for them other than those which were used for the Brahmans invited.

Passing now from this point about dinners, we come to the important point of marriage. And here, too, it appears that the Peshvas on their part initiated a change of custom which, however, failed to get itself established. I am not now referring to Bajirav's left-handed marriage with Mastani; but Balaji Bajirav, who was, of course, of the Chitpavan or Konkanastha section of the Brahman caste, married Radhabai, who belonged to a different section of that caste viz Desastha. (112) And it is said, though no written authority is forthcoming for the statement, that Balaji had also married a Karhada girl, in order to secure the ultimate complete amalgamation of three of the great sections of the Brahman community—viz Desasthas, Konkanasthas and Karhadas. The object, however, has not been attained, and it is still usual, to put it in

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(111) See further Letters &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 278. In the Peshva's Bakhar p. 143, a separate dinner for Mussalman guests is mentioned.

(112) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 541, Peshva Sakâvali p. 18. I have recently had an opportunity, thanks to the kindness of Mr. V. V. Lele of the Poona Bar, of seeing a modern compilation from miscellaneous sources known as Pendse's Diary. There, as in the two authorities just adduced, only two marriages of Balaji Bajirav are mentioned, while reference is also made to Balaji's kept mistresses. There is room, therefore, for reasonable doubt about the statement regarding the Karhada marriage.

the mildest language, to look askance at intermarriages (113) amongst the several subdivisions.

It is curious to notice, that even in the days of Peshva rule, there had come into existence a number of Brahmans who were unable to help in the performance of ordinary religious ceremonies. In the Sketch, already once referred to, of the last days of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, we read, that after the fuel had been collected for the cremation of the great warrior's corpse, and some Bhikshuks, or priestly Brahmans, had been got together from the village near the place of cremation, the Karkun, Naro Hari Karandikar, wished to burn the body with the proper mantras and ceremonies, but a good Brahman could not be secured for the occasion; the Joshis of the village were sheer dunces; and so the body had to be burnt with an unconsecrated fire (114).

A similar instance of ignorance, perhaps, however, more excusable than this, is recorded in connection with the death of the famous Svami of Dhavadasi, the Mahapurusha of

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(113) They do take place, but on extremely rare occasions. The Jnana Prakash newspaper says, that even dining together was extremely unusual among these three divisions before the times of Bajirav.

(114) Letters, memoranda &c., (K. I. Sangraha) p. 300. The statement in Nigudkar's recently published Biography that Parashuram Bhau was burnt with the usual ceremonies (p. 125) is not consistent with the Sketch referred to, which expressly speaks of a Bhadagni. The story mentioned at Grant Duff Vol. III pp. 185-6 note, about the inhuman treatment of the corpse by the Maharaja of Kolhapur (which seems to have been merely reproduced by Capt. Robertson, in his Life of Nana Fadanavis p. 167, without any addition or modification, or apparently corroboration from original documents seen by himself) is not supported by the Sketch of Karandikar. The story offers a curious instance of how error arises from accepting secondhand reports not embodying direct evidence.

Bajirav I and others. We read in the Bakhar of Brahmendra Svami of Dhavadasi, that the attendant Brahmanas performed the ceremonies consequent on his death, with the Ritual book in their hands. Even with this aid, however, they appear to have blundered, and after they had declared in answer to a question from Shahu, that the whole of the ceremonial was finished, the Raja inquired whether their book did not contain any direction about the breaking of the Svami's skull with a conch-shell—which he had heard was the proper thing to do in the case of a Samnyasi. The Brahmans replied that there was a direction to that effect in their book, but that they had overlooked it through inadvertence, and they were thereupon taken up roundly by the Raja for their ignorance and carelessness. I have said before, that this was, perhaps, a case of more excusable ignorance than was betrayed by the Brahmans concerned in the death-ceremonies of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan. These latter ceremonies are every-day ceremonies, which, one would suppose, ought to be familiarly known to all priestly Brahmans. Those in connection with the death of a Samnyasi, on the other hand, might well be unfamiliar, as being only of rare occurrence. Still the ignorance betrayed even on this latter occasion is remarkable, especially when one has regard to the place and the time where the event occurred. It cannot be, that the ignorance was due to there being no demand for that sort of learning in which the men were found deficient. That is a condition of things, of which some sort of indication is, perhaps, beginning to be visible in some parts of the country at the present day. But its existence in the old days to which these events carry us back is not to be assumed. (115) How-

(115) I do not think that much weight can be attached, from the point of view from which the above various incidents have been collect-

ever, whatever may be the true explanation, the facts themselves are worthy of note. (116).

In connection with these incidents relating to funeral ceremonies, may be noticed one which is stated to have occurred on the death of the uncle of the famous Bapu Gokhale viz. Dhondopant Gokhale. Dhondopant having

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ed, to the attack made by one of the Patvardhan chiefs—namely Konher pant—on the Matha of the Sankaracharya Svami of Sankesvar. (as to this see V. J. Vistara Vol. XX. p. 118. I presume it is the same incident that is referred to by Forbes at Oriental Memoirs Vol. II. p. 134, though it is Parashuram Bhau that is named there); nor to the plundering raid which seems to have once gone against the priests of Kayagaum [see Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 26 ; nor to that which went against Jayaram Svami's Vadgaum [see Letters &c. (S. K. I. Sangraha). p. 188 ; nor to the people at large making use of English medicines (see Forrest's Selections p. 540. Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. III. p. 431 and compare Bhonsle Letters &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 79 ; Holkar's Kaifiyat p. 128] ; nor, perhaps, to the fact, mentioned by Tavernier, that some classes of people who would not touch one another under ordinary circumstances, did not scruple to do so in war (see Tavernier Vol. I. pp. 245,254, and compare Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 231, where he complains of the wretched accommodation he and his party got on one occasion, though under the protection of Raghoba Dada's escort, in consequence of the Hindus' fear of contamination.) Still these facts are not altogether without interest in this connection. I have not seen any original Indian authority about the Sankesvar incident. There is a further reference to it, and explanation of it, at V. J. Vistara Vol. XXI. p. 285. And see too Malcolm's Central India Vol. I. pp. 148, 224.

(116) With the above instances of the ignorance of Bhikshuks, must be coupled the instances of the laxity of Pandits and Shastris betrayed on the occasion of Sivaji's thread ceremony (as stated in the authorities referred to in notes 59, 72, 75 supra and the remarks in the text to which they are attached) and on the occasion of the adoption of Chimnaji Appa by the widow of his nephew Savai Madhavrav. That adoption was afterwards cancelled; Chimnaji Appa performed penance ; and the Shastris who advised the adoption were banished. Robertson's Life of Nana Fadanavis p. 118, which is based probably on Grant Duff Vol. III p. 145. For original authorities see Chitnis's Life of Shahu II p. 67. Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 444 ; see, too, the recent Life of Nana Fadanavis by V. V. Khare p. 203.

been killed by a free-booter, named Dhondi Vagh, in an action in which Bapu Gokhale also was injured and was unable to save his uncle, Bapu cremated the body at the scene of the disaster, and returned to Poona where he wished to perform the residue of the funeral ceremonies enjoined by the customs of the caste. Dhondopant's widow, however, it is said, would not hear of it. She is reported to have spoken very stingingly to Bapu on the occasion, and to have directed that none of the funeral ceremonies should be performed until after Bapu had taken vengeance upon Dhondi Vagh for the slaughter of Dhondopant. The ceremonies were accordingly held in abeyance. Bapu Gokhale did soon afterwards get an opportunity of encountering Dhondi Vagh. Dhondi was killed, (117) and his head was carried on a spear's point by Bapu, and shown to Lakshmibai, the widow of Dhondopant Gokhale. The lady was satisfied, and the countermanded ceremonies were then finished.(118)

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(117) Wellington's Letters &c. by Gurwood p. 9.

(118) Cf. Gaikwad's Hakikat p. 11. The above incident I only know of from Aitihasik Goshti (Historic anecdotes), one of the many interesting Marathi works, for which we are indebted to one who has departed from among us since this paper was read, and who was, indeed, a living repertory of interesting and varied information—the late Gopalrav Hari Deshmukh. I have seen no original authority for the story, and it is not mentioned in the recently published Life of Bapu Gokhale, where it is simply stated that Bapu determined, of his own motion, not to put on his turban, until after he had wreaked vengeance on Dhondi; see Life p. 37. (With this compare Chitragupta's Sivaji p. 56, K. A Sabhasad's Ditto p. 35). There were some comments in the first edition of that Life on Grant Duff's account of the destruction of Dhondi (pp. 98-99) which were *not* conspicuous for *historic* criticism. These are not repeated in the second edition, however, so nothing further need now be said about them, for other instances of woman's stern determination. See Bhau Saheb's Bakhar p. 14 Malcolm's Central India Vol. I. p. 107 Bernier p. 41, Hamilton's East Indies Vol. I. p. 136, also Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. p. 231.

There is one incident in the Life of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, which is entitled to notice here, although I have not come across any reference to it in any original document accessible to me. The incident itself is pretty familiar to people in the Maratha country, but I take the account of it that is given in the biography of Parashuram Bhau recently published by Mr. B. D Nigudkar.(119) It appears, then, that Parashuram Bhau's eldest daughter, Bayabai, was married into the family of the Joshis of Baramati. She was only about 7 or 8 years old at the time. And her husband died within about a fortnight after the marriage. She, therefore, became a child-widow according to the usual custom. Some time afterwards, Parashuram Bhau laid the whole of the case of the unlucky girl before the celebrated Ram Shastri, who has been already mentioned in this paper. His heart was touched; and he declared it as his opinion, that there was no objection to the little girl being remarried Then, Parashuram Bhau sent up the case to Benares, and the opinion of all the Shastris there was obtained in favour of such remarriage. But after this stage was reached, Parashuram Bhau abandoned his intention of getting the girl remarried, because it was represented to him, that the remarriage of widows was against the custom which had existed for many years, and that it was not advisable for him to run the risk of offending his people by taking a departure from such a custom. The result was that the idea was abandoned. But the incident is, nevertheless, of much historic importance. That such a man as Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, one of the most prominent men at

(119) pp. 131-2. This book is stated to have been written, after reference to some original unprinted papers; and it is also stated that some of these papers were subsequently examined by Rav Bahadur M. G. Ranade, for verifying Mr. Nigudkar's account.

the Court of the Peshvas, a man who, as his biographer shows, was at heart a full believer in the religion of his ancestors, (120) should seriously contemplate such a departure from established rules, (121) is a thing sufficiently remarkable, when we are considering the nature of the hold which those established rules had upon the conscience of that generation. That so venerable and eminent an authority as Ram Shastri, a man widely respected then and since throughout the Maratha Empire, should have lent his countenance to that contemplated departure from established usage, makes the incident still more remarkable. And it is most remarkable of all, that the Shastris of Benares should have afforded the support of their unanimous opinion to such a departure. On the other hand, it illustrates the condition of Hindu Society in reference to such a practical departure, that even with the powerful support (122) now indicated, and with the proofs in his hand that the current notions rested on no substantial basis, a man like Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan should, nevertheless, have found himself unable, owing to his surroundings, to take the step to which the kindly impulses of his own heart prompted him.

One other incident of this same class I must here notice, though here again I have not been able to obtain any information about it from any of our own original documents. It relates

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(120) *Ibid* pp. 132-4. Comp. Letters &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 501.

(121) We learn from that most valuable treasurehouse of information on the condition of India about 1000 or 1200 years ago, viz: Buddhist Records of the Western world, that in the days of Hiuen Thsang widow-marriage was not customary among Hindus (See Vol. I. p. 82).

(122) A writer in the Jnana Prakash new-paper of Poona asserts that Ramshastri had died before the Benares opinion was received; and that the consequent loss of his support prevented Parashuram Bhau from carrying out his original intention.

to a matter about which many members of the Hindu community throughout India may be said to be in some degree exercised at the present day. The only information I have about it is contained in the famous Oriental Memoirs of Forbes (123)—who was in Western India in 1766 and for several years subsequently. Forbes relates, that "two Brahmans, whom he (*i. e.*, Raghoba Dada) sent as ambassadors to England, were, on their return to Hindusthan, compelled to pass through the sacred yoni, or female lingam, made of the finest gold. After performing this ordeal, (124) and making valuable presents to the Brahmanas, they were restored to the privileges of their caste, which they had lost, by the impurities contracted in travelling through so many polluted countries." It would thus appear, that in those good old days, when the country was to all intents and purposes still under the rule of Brahman Sovereigns, the sin of crossing the Kalapani was not considered quite inexpiable, and the doctrine

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(123) See Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 379. From a later part of the same interesting work, we learn, that Raghoba having gone from Surat to Cambay by sea, "many religious Brahmans and strict professors among the high castes of Hindus, censured Raghoba for undertaking a voyage by sea, in which they alleged he not only deviated from the established laws and customs of his tribe, but thought he acted contrary to the divine injunction." Forbes Vol. II p. 8. Those "religious Brahmans and strict professors," would, therefore, have condemned all their brethren, who for many years past have been voyaging up and down the Indian Coasts, from Ceylon to Karachi. *Their* condemnation was not confined, as that of their brethren of the present day most illogically and baselessly is practically confined, to a voyage to Europe. Raghoba travelled by sea more than once (See Narayanrav Peshva's Bakhar p. 13); and Sivaji went by sea to Bednore. See V. J. Vistara Vol. IX. p. 132.

(124) A writer in the V. J. Vistara Vol. XI. p. 235 asserts it to be a well-known fact that Raghoba's emissary Aba Kale was re-admitted to caste without penance. As usual no voucher for this well-known fact is adduced. It is not a fact at all, according to Forbes's contemporary account.

now propounded—that a twiceborn person, who goes out on a sea-voyage, cannot be admitted to the "privileges of his caste," *even* after a penance—was not the accepted doctrine of the people, and had not the sanction of the then reigning Peshva.

As I have brought together so many instances in which the rigours of existing rules appear to have been deliberately relaxed to a greater or less extent, (125) it is right also to point out one or two instances which, in some respects, may be said to present a different appearance to the view. Thus there can be no doubt that the documents before us show many instances of very early marriages in the Peshva family. (126) Balaji Bajirav, for instance, was married when he was 9 years old; Visvasrav when he was 8; the elder Madhavrav 9; Narayanrav 10; Savai Madhavrav a little over 8. And this was not merely the practice in the Peshva's family. (127) We find from a brief autobiographical sketch of Nana Fadanavis, that he was married when he was only 10 years old. (128) Again we find a record of more than one remarriage immediately after the death of a first wife. (129) As to widows, there

(125) Compare also, generally, Chitnis's Life of Rajaram I. pp. 58,86; Grant Duff Vol. I. pp. 322,373n.

(126) See *inter alia* Peshva Sakavali pp. 5, 10, 14, 22, 33.

(127) See V. J. Vistara Vol. IX. pp. 41, 51; Chitnis's Rajaram pp. 44 52; Ramdas Charitra pp. 1, 2; Marathi Samrajya Bakhar p. 126 for some other cases. And see, generally, Hamilton's East Indies Vol. I. p. 158; Ovington's Voyage pp. 321-4; Fryer p. 33; Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 73.

(128) Letters, Memoranda.&c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 34. It would seem that this Sketch was not seen by Capt. Robertson, Nana's biographer. The original of the Sketch is said to have been taken to England by Mr. Brook; see V. V. Khare's Life p. 4. From Mr. Nigudkar's Life of Parashuram Bhau Patvardhan, it appears that Parashuram Bhau was married when he was thirteen years old.

(129). See *inter alia* Peshva's Bakhar p. 172; Peshva Sakavali pp. 15,35; Chitnis's Rajaram II. pp. 3, 57; Samrajya Bakhar p 103; Vinchurkar's Bakhar p. 6.

is a curious entry in a chronological list of important events which occurred in the last few years of Peshva rule. (130) On the 12th of Sravan Suddha 1729, it is stated that widows were subjected to the shaving operation at the Nakazari in Poona. One would have liked to possess some further information about this hideous performance. Again it appears that a dancing girl's dance was among the entertainments ordinarily provided at marriages; (131) and that not only a man's wives, but even his kept mistresses, (132) sacrificed themselves as Satis upon his death.

Looking at the facts and circumstances here collected as a whole, we may say that we get some slight glimpse of the social and religious condition of Maratha society during the days of the old regime. That many things which exist now

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(130) Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 523. See Ovington pp. 343-4, and Tavernier Vol. II. p. 209 for some remarks on the custom as prevalent in their days.

(131) See *inter alia* Marathi Samrajya Bakhar pp. 49,102-4; Peshva's Bakhar pp. 139 161; V. J. Vistara Vol. XIII. pp. 203-238. See also the Life of Ravji Apâji (K. P. I. S.) pp. 27; 63. and compare Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. I. p. 81. This has precedents of quite respectable antiquity. See Kalidasa's Raghuvansa Canto III Stanza 19. Tavernier often mentions such entertainments; see *inter alia* Vol. I pp. 71, 87, 158, 259, 289, and compare Scott's Deccan Vol. I. pp. 29, 77; Forbes (Oriental Memoris Vol II. p. 53) mentions that loose women used to be in the Maratha Camps, though Sivaji's rule was absolute against it. See Chitragupta's Life p. 36 (also p. 150) Fryer's Travels p. 176; see too, however, Chitragupta p. 162.

(132) See the Bhonsle Bakhar pp. 79,119; Peshva Sakavali p. 10, compare Dowson's Elliott Vol. I p. 6.; and Bernier p. 310. Self-immolation by widows was controlled by the Mussulman rulers of India. See Ovington p. 343; Tavernier Vol. I. p. 210; and see Lord William Bentinck (Rulers of India Series) p. 104. From the Bhonsle Letters &c. (K. I. Sangraha) p. 12 it appears that on one occasion the thirteen wives of a man all sacrificed themselves together as Satis.

also existed then, of course, goes without saying. (133) That the Brahmanical system existed then in greater strength than at present, is also what might naturally have been anticipated. But that there should have been so many actual departures from traditionary rule, that there should have been such schemes contemplated as some of those which have been here noticed, are facts which are not in harmony with the notion that prevails in some quarters, that laxity in these matters began with the introduction under British rule of Western ideas into this country. (134) To my mind, the various items above set out indicate a relaxation which had commenced long before that period. And when we have regard to the causes of the relaxation, as indicated in one or two of these instances, the conclusion which they suggest is, that the surrounding conditions, even in the days of the Maratha power, were too strong for the dominion of rules which had had their birth under

(133) In Mr. Forrest's Selections from Bombay state papers, one can see many instances of business being delayed by reason of weddings, and formal mournings, Holi celebrations, and unlucky constellations. See *inter alia* pp. 129, 130, 145, 146, 149, 150, 159, 175, 596. See also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. II. p. 22 ; Dowson's Elliott Vol. VII. p. 296 : At Prof. Forrest's Bombay Selections Vol. I. p. 489, we find one example of the constellations being given the go-by when met by firmness on the part of the British Officer with whom business had to be transacted. See also Forbes's Oriental Memoirs Vol. III. p. 473 for another similar case. At Bhau Saheb's Kaifiyat p. 11, we have a recorded instance of how an enterprise commenced under favourable conditions of the constellations nevertheless resulted in failure.

(134) In the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar p. 10, it is stated that the ordinary conduct of all castes was spiritually unclean under Muhammadan rule. Brahmans did not observe the rules about what to eat and what not. See also the opinions of the Benares Pundits, at pp. 17–8 See further Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) P. 13 ; V. J. Vistara Vol. IX. pp. 31-3 ; Chitragupta's Sivaji pp. 97,137 ; Sri Siva Kavya Part 1, pp. 51-2,107, and compare N. Macleods Peeps at the Far East p. 266 for some remarks by an outsider on this topic.

quite other and different conditions. Originally, I suppose, the incompatibility manifested itself only in certain special instances. But once the solvent, so to say, is applied in that way at one point, similar results sometimes follow even at other points, though the conditions are not equally directly favourable.

It will have been noticed that some of the instances above given, of departure from the old rules of conduct, are instances of deliberate departure, consciously made in view of the existing conditions, while others cannot be so clearly traced to a conscious initiative, but seem to form part of what I have called a general relaxation of the rigours of traditionary bonds. In both respects, I am disposed to think, further progress, upto a certain point, would have been achieved, and achieved with comparative ease, if the sceptre of Maharashtra had not passed away from the hands of the Peshvas. Under indigenous rulers, whose fundamental rules of Government have been illustrated above, such progress would have come directly, and perhaps also indirectly, with less friction, (135) than under a foreign power like the British, governed by the principles which it has laid down for itself; although, no doubt, the silent force of education in Western science and art, in Western history and literature, which the British have brought to bear, must necessarily have been entirely absent under indigenous rule (136.)

The late Sir Sumner Maine pointed out many years ago, that the operations of British Courts of Justice had resulted

(135) Compare the remarks, of somewhat similar purport, in Sir H. S. Maine's Village Communities (3rd Ed.) pp. 46-7.

(136). This would have been absent in both its aspects as indicated by Sir, H. S. Maine in his Village Communities p. 273 and also pp. 270 and 288.

in the arrest of the further development of Hindu Law. (137) It may with truth be said, that the passive influence of British administration generally, has had a somewhat similar effect on the general social development of the Hindus. It is not easy as yet to analyse fully the causes which have so far led or are leading to such a result; nor would this be a proper place to institute such an analysis. But speaking broadly, it would appear, that the general effect of British administration has been to render feeble the various forces, which were, in old days, working from within the community itself as a community; (138) while on the other hand individualism has become, or is becoming, more and more the prevailing force. Nana Fadanavis, for instance, when the occasion arose, gave advice as to what was required to be done, even in defiance of what was supposed to be right according to existing traditions. And the Peshva acted on such advice, the Brahmanas about him followed the example, and nobody apparently raised any storm about it. It does not appear, that the way out of the difficulty which Nana said *would be found* after the act itself was done, (139) had even to be sought after. If it had

(137) See Village Communities pt. 45-7.

(138) In the Kayastha Prabhunchi Bakhar (K. P. I. S.) p. 9, we read that a dispute having occurred in these parts between the Brahmans and the Kayastha Prabhus, the matter was referred to the Pandits of Benares, and on their decision in favour of the Kayasthas, *all* people in Western India commenced to act in accordance with that decision, notwithstanding all the previous dissensions. Some recent doings, however, of a different aspect also find their parallel in events of the days of Savai Madhavrav. See Kayastha Prabhunchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Gramanya) p. 7.

(139) See notes (103) and (104) *Supra*. Yet Nana himself, it must never be forgotten, was not a sceptic nor free-thinker. (See Letters, Memoranda &c. (K. I. Sangraha) pp. 34, 39 and V. V. Khare's Life p. 166 (where the Poet Moropant is quoted in proof

been necessary to seek after it, it would doubtless have been found—the community being still endowed with vitality as a community; and it would, no doubt, have been a way of the same nature as is indicated by the various instances we have stated. The old rules would, by common, even of tacit, consent, have been gradually relaxed, and in process of time custom would have sanctified everything. Such a process, I believe, is what might have been witnessed under Peshva, and even under what may be called, in the narrower sense, Maratha rule. But such a process hardly takes place at our present stage of progress, or at all events is incomparably more slow and tedious in its operation, wherever British influence is in other respects powerful. The late Mr. Krishna Shastri Chiplonkar, thirty years ago, having been supposed to have eaten fruit at the table of a European friend (140) was hauled over the coals in a community where he was a leader of thought. A similar thing has occurred since with similar results. It has been said that the first event retarded progress, and whether that is true or not, and whether there has been progress since then or not, it is perfectly clear, that such progress as there has been is extremely slow. And on the other hand it has certainly disclosed the existence of persons, to whom the real gist of the movement under Peshva rule is either unknown or unacceptable.

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of his piety; see also *Sri Siva Kavya* XVI 27.) He was in truth, a thoroughly pious Hindu. The pious of the present day, on the other hand, are still digging into the depths of the Smritis &c. to disinter texts justifying a voyage to England, or saying with decrepit helplessness—the thing is forbidden, and there is an end of the matter as far as we are concerned.

(140) See the incident referred to in Dr. Norman Macleod's Peeps at the Far East P. 68n and P. 375.

I must not, however, permit myself to continue these reflexions any further. The main purpose of this paper is to piece together some features of the past, from the scanty and desultory materials available. This having been done, the lessons to be drawn from a study of those features must be allowed to remain over for consideration and discussion elsewhere. I will only, in conclusion, add one line of explanation. The incidents here collected have been drawn from the available records, without any attempt to discriminate between those records which are contemporaneous and those which are not such. It must, of course, be admitted, that many, even most, of these records are not really contemporaneous. But in dealing with such a theme as that to which this paper is devoted, it has not been thought necessary to take any account of that circumstance. In any case, these records are of value on the principle which Grote applied to the older Greek writings—"the curtain *is* the picture." And as most if not all the documents drawn upon belong apparently to the period of the ancient regime, their special evidentiary value, as regards to the special incidents for which they are relied on, has not appeared to me to be a subject necessary to be dealt with as part of the present inquiry.

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